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The

Works of George Berkeley

Vol. IV

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The

Works of George Berkeley

D.D.; Formerly Bishop of Cloyne

Including his Posthumous Works

With Prefaces, Annotations, Appendices, and
An Account of his Life, by

Alexander Campbell Fraser

Hon. D.C.L. Oxford

Hon. LL.D. Glasgow and Edinburgh; Emeritus Professor
of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh

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First published in 1707.

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MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

FIRST PERIOD OF AUTHORSHIP

1707–1721

NOTE

The *Arithmetica* and the *Miscellanea Mathematica* were published at Dublin early in 1707, when Berkeley was entering his twenty-third year. He took his Master's degree in June, 1707, and on the title-page he is described as Bachelor of Arts. The Preface to the *Arithmetica* implies that it was held *in retentis* for some years before its appearance, and thus its preparation was contemporaneous with that of the *Commonplace Book*. In the original edition, now very rare, the two tracts form a small volume of ninety-two pages, published anonymously; so that the *Essay towards a New Theory of Vision* is the earliest work in which Berkeley's name appears on the title-page. These Latin tracts appear in all the editions of Berkeley's collected works, and the *Commonplace Book*, as well as their contents, confirm the evidence of authorship. Their chief interest is biographical. They illustrate the juvenile mathematical enthusiasm of their author, also his disposition to seek for principles, and to simplify human knowledge, all in an independent spirit.

ARITHMETICA

ABSQUE

ALGEBRA AUT EUCLIDE

DEMONSTRATA

AUCTORE * * * * ART. BAC. TRIN. COL. DUB.

First published in 1707

MAXIMÆ SPEI PUERO

D. GULIELMO PALLISER

REVERENDISSIMI ARCHIEPISCOPI CASSELENSIS[1]
FILIO UNICO, INGENIO, SOLERTIA, ERUDITIONE
ANNOS LONGE PRÆEUNTI
NUMERISQUE ADEO OMNIBUS AD PRÆSTANDUM
INGENS ALIQUOD SCIENTIIS LUMEN AC INCREMENTUM NATO
HUNC ARITHMETICÆ TRACTATUM
IN EXIGUUM SUMMI AMORIS PIGNUS
OFFERT ET DICAT
AUCTOR

[1] William Palliser, translated to the Archbishoprick of Cashel in 1694, was previously Bishop of Cloyne. He had been elected a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1668, and was tutor to William Molyneux, the friend of Locke, father of Samuel Molyneux, to whom Berkeley dedicated his *Miscellanea Mathematica*. Palliser was afterwards Professor of Divinity in Trinity College. He died in 1727. Of the younger Palliser, to whom the *Arithmetica* is dedicated, I find no further record.

PRÆFATIO

Plerosque scientiarum mathematicarum procos in ipso earundem limine cæcutientes, sentio simul et doleo. Nimirum cum ea sit, apud nos saltem, mathemata discendi ratio, ut primo arithmetica, deinde geometria, postremo algebra addiscatur, Tacqueti[1] vero *Arithmeticam* legamus, eam autem nemo probe intelligat, qui algebram non prælibarit; hinc fit ut plerique mathesi operam navantes, dum bene multorum minoris usus theorematum demonstrationes studiose evolvunt, interea operationum arithmeticarum, quarum ea est vis et præstantia, ut non modo cæteris disciplinis mathematicis, verum etiam hominum cujuscunque demum sortis usibus commodissime famulentur, principia ac rationes intactas prætereant. Quod si quis tandem aliquando, post emensum matheseos cursum, oculos in prædictum Tacqueti librum retorqueat, multa ibi methodo obscura, et quæ intellectum non tam illuminet quam convincat, demonstrata; multa horrido porismatum et theorematum satellitio stipata inveniet.

Sed nec alius quisquam, quod sciam, arithmeticam seorsim ab algebra demonstravit. Proinde e re tyronum futurum ratus, si hæc mea qualiacunque in lucem emitterem, ea postquam, si minus omnia, pleraque certe per integrum fere triennium in scriniis delituerint, publici juris facio. Quæ cum præter ipsos operandi modos, eorundem etiam demonstrationes ex propriis et genuinis arithmeticæ

[1] For Tacquet, an eminent mathematician of the seventeenth century, see *Essay on Vision*, sect. 30, note. He is often referred to by contemporary writers. See Spinoza's letter to De Vries (*Epistola* XXVI). His *Arithmeticæ Theoria et Praxis*, upon which Berkeley here remarks, was published at Antwerp in 1665.

principiis petitas complectantur, mirabitur fortasse quispiam, quod noster hic tractatus mole vulgares arithmeticorum libros, in quibus praxis tantum tradatur, haud exæquet. Hoc autem exinde provenit, quod cum operationum τὸ διότι explicarem in præceptis et exemplis, quæ vulgus arithmeticorum ad nauseam usque prosequitur, contractior fui; nec eo forsan obscurior. Quippe tametsi cæco ad singulos fere gressus regendos opus sit manuductore, in clara tamen demonstrationum luce versanti sufficit, si quis tenendum tramitem vel strictim exponat. Quamobrem omnes matheseos candidati ad regularum arithmeticæ rationes ac fundamenta percipiendum animos adjungant, summopere velim et exoptem.

Neque id tanti moliminis est, ut plerique fortasse imaginentur. Quas attulimus demonstrationes faciles (ni fallor) sunt et concisæ; nec principia aliunde mutuantur, ex algebra nihil, nihil ex Euclide tanquam notum supponitur. Ubique malui obvia et familiari aliqua ratione a priori veritatem praxeos comprobare, quam per prolixam demonstrationum apagogicarum seriem ad absurdum deducere. Radicum quadratarum et cubicarum doctrinam ex ipsa involutionis arithmeticæ natura eruere tentavi. Atque ea, meo quidem judicio, ad numerosam radicum extractionem illustrandum magis accommoda videtur, quam quæ ex Elemento secundo Euclidis, aut ex analysi potestatum algebraicarum vulgo adferri solent. Regula vulgaris pro alligatione plurium rerum non nisi difficulter admodum et per species demonstratur: ejus igitur loco novam, quæ vix ulla demonstratione indigeat, e proprio penu substitui. Regulam falsi, utpote mancam et fere inutilem, consulto prætermisi. Ac, si nihil aliud, novitas fortassis aliqua placebit.

Neminem transcripsi; nullius scrinia expilavi. Nempe id mihi imprimis propositum fuerat, ut numeros tractandi leges ex ipsis principiis, proprii exercitii et recreationis causa, deducerem. Quod et deinceps horis subsecivis prosecutus sum. Nec mihi hoc in loco, absque ingrati animi labe, præterire liceat Reverendum Virum Johannem Hall, S.T.D. Academiæ nostræ Vice-præpositum, ibidemque linguæ Hebraicæ Professorem dignissimum [1], cui

[1] John Hall, elected Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1685, was afterwards Berkeley's tutor. He was Vice-Provost of the Col-

viro optimo quum me multis nominibus obstringi lubens agnoscam, tum non id minimum duco, quod illius hortatu ad suavissimum Matheseos studium incitatus fuerim.

Monstravi porro ad quem collimaverim scopum: quousque ipsum assecutus sim, penes æquos rerum æstimatores esto judicium. Candido quippe horum examini istas studiorum meorum primitias libenter submitto; quicquid interim scioli sentiant et malevoli, parum solicitus.

lege in 1697–1713. Berkeley attributes to him his own love for mathematics. In 1713 Hall was appointed to a college living in the diocese of Derry. He died in 1735.

ARITHMETICÆ

PARS PRIMA[1]

CAP. I

DE NOTATIONE ET ENUNCIATIONE NUMERORUM

Novem sunt notæ numerales, viz. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, quibus una cum cyfra (0) utuntur arithmetici, ut tantum non infinitos numerorum ordines exprimant. Omne illius rei artificium in eo positum est, quod notarum numeralium loci ratione decupla progrediantur. Series autem numerorum, ea lege quoad locorum valores procedentium, in membra sive periodos enunciationis causa secatur. Rem totam oculis conspiciendam subjecta exhibet Tabella:

Notarum Numeralium Series.

Centuriæ . . .	349.	Quintilionum.
Decades . . .		
Unitates . . .		
Centuriæ . . .	758.	Quatrilionum.
Decades . . .		
Unitates . . .		

[1] The *Arithmetica* is a brief exposition of the science, unfolded from its principles—in three parts. The First Part deduces rules for the Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, and Division of numbers, and for Squares and Cubes; the Second treats of Fractions, or broken numbers, and the rules for adding, subtracting, multiplying, dividing, and reducing them; the Third is concerned with the numerical relations of proportion, alligation, and progression—arithmetical and geometrical.

Centuriæ . . .	192	Trilionum.
Decades . . .		
Unitates . . .		
Centuriæ . . .	003	Bilionum.
Decades . . .		
Unitates . . .		
Centuriæ . . .	505	Millionum.
Decades . . .		
Unitates . . .		
Centuriæ . . .	739	Millium.
Decades . . .		
Unitates . . .		
Centuriæ . . .	047	Integrorum.
Decades . . .		
Unitates . . .		
Unesimæ . . .	32	Partes.
Decimæ . . .		
Centesimæ . . .		
Unesimæ . . .	568	Millesimarum.
Decimæ . . .		
Centesimæ . . .		
Unesimæ . . .	918	Millionesimarum.
Decimæ . . .		
Centesimæ . . .		
Unesimæ . . .	300	Bilionesimarum.
Decimæ . . .		
Centesimæ . . .		
Unesimæ . . .	052	Trilionesimarum.
Decimæ . . .		
Centesimæ . . .		
Unesimæ . . .	704	Quatrilionesimarum.
Decimæ . . .		
Centesimæ . . .		

qua exponitur notarum numeralium series, in terniones distributa: membra autem seu periodi millecupla, loci decupla ratione progrediuntur. E. g. Numerus positus in loco unitatum (is per subjectum punctum dignoscitur) denotat septem res integras quascunque, vel saltem ut integras spectatas; numerus ei a dextris proximus, tres partes decimas ejusdem integri; qui vero locum immediate præcedentem occupat, indigitat quatuor decadas eorundem

integrorum. Eadem proportione decupla locus quilibet sequentem superat, a præcedente superatur.

Porro, cum infinita unitatum multiplicatione et divisione, notarum series infinite ultra citraque unitatum locum producatur, adeoque innumeri oriantur loci, ut distincti eorum valores exprimantur, opus est solummodo trium vocum continua repetitione; modo ternio quivis sive periodus suo insigniatur nomine, uti factum in Tabella. Nam, progrediendo a loco unitatum versus sinistram, prima periodus numerat simpliciter unitates, sive integra; secunda, millia; tertia, milliones; quarta, biliones; atque ita porro. Similiter, servata analogia, in periodis infra unitatem descendentibus, occurrunt primo partes simpliciter, dein millesimæ, millionesimæ, bilionesimæ, &c. atque hæ quidem partiendæ in unesimas, decimas, centesimas; illi vero colligendi in unitates, decades, centurias.

Ut itaque enunciemus numerum quavis e tota serie figura designatum, 1°, respiciendum est ad valorem notæ simplicem; 2°, ad valorem loci; postremo, periodi. E.g. enuncianda sit 9, in quinta sinistrorsum periodo. Nota simpliciter sumpta valet novem: ratione loci, novem decadas; ratione demum periodi, novem decadas trilionum. Proponatur 5, in tertia periodo: simpliciter sumpta dicit quinque; ratione loci, quinque unitates; ratione periodi, quinque unitates millionum, seu quinque milliones. In secunda infra unitatem periodo, detur 8: simplex notæ valor est octo; ratione loci, octo centesimæ; ratione periodi, octo centesimæ millesimarum.

Quod si numerus enunciandus non habeat adscripta vocabula valores periodorum locorumque indigitantia, is punctatione a loco unitatum dextrorsum sinistrorsumque instituta in terniones distinguatur; deinde, cuique loco et periodo assignato nomine, proferatur. Sit, e.g. numerus propositus 73·480·195. Notis in periodos distinctis, primum quæro quinam sint valores figuræ ad sinistram primæ; quæ, quoniam collocatur in secundo loco tertiæ periodi, valet septem decadas millionum: quia vero numeri ratione decupla progrediuntur, intellecto notæ primæ valore, cæterarum valores ordine sequuntur. Sic ergo enunciabimus numerum propositum; septem decades et tres unitates millionum, quatuor centuriæ et octo decades millium, una centuria, novem decades et quinque unitates;

vel contractius, septuaginta tres milliones, quadringenta octaginta millia, centum nonaginta quinque. Hinc cernimus quod cyfra, licet per se nil valeat, necessario tamen scribatur, ut unicuique notæ debitum assignemus locum.

Facillimum erit numeros quantumvis magnos scribere et enunciare, modo quæ dicta sunt perpendantur, quorum etiam scientia in sequentibus maximi erit momenti: siquidem qua ratione operationes arithmeticæ in digitis perficiantur ipsa docet natura; arte vero opus est ad easdem in numeris grandioribus accurate exercendas, quæ sane omnis in eo versatur, ut quod opus simul et uno quasi ictu peragi non sinit humanæ mentis angustia, id in plures partiamur opellas, sigillatim inquirentes digitorum aggregata, differentias, producta, &c. dein hæc ita componamus ut exhibeant summam, residuum, aut productum, &c. totale; cujus rei ratio omnis et artificium petitur ex simplici locorum progressione, et in ea ultimo fundatur.

N.B. Non me latet arithmeticos nonnullos numerorum seriem aliter ac a nobis factum est partiri; sc. in senarios (composita denominatione) loco ternionum. Cum vero methodum quam tradimus sequantur etiam alii [1], visum est et nobis eam (utpote simpliciorem) retinere.

CAP. II

DE ADDITIONE

Additione quæritur duorum pluriumve numerorum aggregatum; quod ut obtineatur, numeri aggregandi sub invicem scribantur ea lege, ut unitates unitatibus, decades decadibus, partes decimæ decimis, &c. respondeant. Quamobrem, ubi adnexæ fuerint partes decimales, oportet

[1] [v. g. Cl. Wallisius in *Mathes. Univers.*, et le Père Lamy dans ses *Elémens des Mathématiques.*]—Author.

Wallis's *Mathesis Universalis* is the first article in his *Opera Mathematica* (Oxford, 1695). See ch. V, 'Numerorum Procreatio,' for the opinion to which Berkeley refers. Bernard Lamy (or Lami), priest of the Oratory, a Cartesian, was author of works in mathematics and theology. One of these, *Traité qui comprend l'Arithmétique, l'Algèbre, l'Analyse*, &c., was published at Paris in 1680. A second edition appeared in 1691, under the title *Elémens des Mathématiques.*

unitatis locum adjecto commate insignire. Deinde, sumpto a dextris initio, notæ in primo loco occurrentes una addantur; decades autem siquæ proveniant, adjectis punctulis notatæ sequenti loco annumerandæ sunt, cujus itidem numeris (reservatis interim decadibus, quæ ad locum sequentem pertinent) in unam summam aggregati infra scribantur. Atque ita porro.

E. g. In primo, infra-scriptorum exemplo, 9 et 5 faciunt 14; decadem punctatam servo, cum 4 progredior; 4 et 8 sunt 12, punctata igitur decade, 2 subscribo; ad secundum locum accedens, reperio 6, quibus addo 2, scil. decadas in primo punctatas, 8 et 2 faciunt decadem, quam notatam servans, quæ sola superest 1 subscribo. Et sic deinceps.

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Quod si proponantur colligendæ res diversarum specierum, simili prorsus methodo operandum, dummodo habeatur ratio proportionis, juxta quam progrediuntur diversa rerum genera. E. g. Quoniam *Lib. Sol.* et *Den.* non ratione decupla ut numeri progrediuntur; adeoque non 10 denarii sed 12 constituant solidum; non 10 solidi sed 20, libram. Propterea in hisce speciebus addendis, loco decadis, numerus quilibet in denariis, duodenarius, in solidis, vicenarius, sequenti loco adscribendus est.

CAP. III

DE SUBDUCTIONE

Subductione quæritur duorum numerorum differentia, sive quodnam superfuerit residuum sublato uno ex altero; cujus obtinendi causa, numeri minoris nota quælibet notæ

majoris ejusdem loci subscribatur; deinde subducendi prima dextrorsum nota ex nota suprascripta auferatur, residuumque infra notetur; atque ita porro, usque dum perficiatur subductio totius.

Si vero accidat numerum aliquem minorem esse quam ut ex eo nota subscripta auferri possit, is decade augeatur, mutuata scil. unitate a loco sequente.

Detur 1189 subtrahendus ex 32034. Numeris ut in exemplo subjecto scriptis, aggredior subductionem notæ primæ 9 ex supraposita 4; verum cum 4 ne semel quidem contineat 9, adjecta decade, fiat 14; ex 14 subductis 9, restant 5. Dein versus sinistram pergens, reperio 8, a 2 (loco 3, habita nimirum ratione mutuatæ decadis) subducenda, quod quoniam fieri nequit, aufero 8 a 12, et restant 4. Proxima subducendi nota est 1, quæ quia a nihilo, sive 0, non potest subtrahi, loco cyfræ 0, substituo 9, (9 inquam, quoniam, mutuata decas unitate numero præcedenti jam ante adjecta truncatur) ablata demum 1 ab 1, restat nihil. Porro peracta subductione restant 3, quæ itidem subscribo.

Haud dissimili ratione subductio specierum diversarum perficitur: modo advertamus non semper decadem, sed numerum qui dicit quotuplus locus quilibet sit præcedentis, in supplementum defectus notæ alicujus mutuandum esse.

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Resid.	30845	4287,545	2 1 10

N. B. Ex dictis liquet arithmeticæ (quam hactenus tradidimus) artificium consistere in perficiendo per partes id quod una vice fieri nequeat; rationem vero in additione, reservandi, in subductione, mutuandi decadas, a decupla locorum progressione omnino petendam esse.

CAP. IV

DE MULTIPLICATIONE

Multiplicatione toties ponitur multiplicandus quoties jubet multiplicans; seu quæritur numerus qui eandem habeat rationem ad multiplicandum, quam multiplicans ad unitatem. Numerus autem iste appellatur productum sive rectangulum; cujus latera seu factores dicuntur uterque tum multiplicandus, tum numerus per quem multiplicatur.

Ut productum duorum numerorum inveniamus, scripto numero multiplicante sub multiplicando, hic multiplicetur per quamlibet notam illius, incipiendo a dextris; cujusque autem producti nota prima directe subscribatur notæ multiplicanti, reliquæ versus lævam ordine sequantur.

Peracta multiplicatione, producta particularia in unam colligantur summam, ut habeatur productum totale, in quo tot loci partibus sunt assignandi, quot sunt in utroque factore.

Proponatur 30,94 ducendus in (sive multiplicandus per) 26,5. Quinquies 4 dant 20, cujus primam figuram 0 subscribo notæ multiplicanti (5), reliquam 2 servo; porro 5 in 9 dant 45; 5 cum 2 servatis faciunt 7, quæ subscribo, 4 sequenti loco ponenda servans; et sic deinceps.

	30,94 26,5	52896 24	6000 56
	15470 18564 6188	211584 105792	36 30
Prod. tot.	819,910	1269504	336000

Quoniam numeri cujusque duplex est valor, ut multiplicatio recte instituatur oportet utriusque rationem haberi;

adeo ut nota quævis multiplicetur juxta valorem cum simplicem tum localem figuræ multiplicantis. Hinc nota prima cujusque particularis producti scribitur sub nota multiplicante. E. g. in secundi exempli multiplicatore, nota 2 valet duas (non unitates sed) decadas; ergo in 6 (primam multiplicandi notam) ducta producet duodecim (non quidem unitates, verum) decadas. Proinde primam producti notam in loco decadum h. e. directe sub nota multiplicante 2, poni oportet.

Ob eandem rationem, ubi in factoribus occurrunt partes, numerus ex prima multiplicandi nota in primam multiplicantis ducta genitus, tot locis detrudendus est infra notam multiplicatam, quot multiplicans dextrorsum ab unitate distat; adeoque tot loci in producto totali partibus seponendi sunt, quot fuerant in utroque factore.

N. B. Si factori utrique aut alterutri a dextris accedant cyfræ non interruptæ, multiplicatione in reliquis notis instituta omittantur istæ mox producto totali adjiciendæ: quippe cum loci proportione decupla progrediantur liquet numerum decuplum, centuplum, millecuplum, &c. suiipsius evadere, si modo uno, duobus aut tribus locis promoveatur.

CAP. V

DE DIVISIONE

Divisio opponitur multiplicationi; nempe productum quod hæc conficit, illa sibi dissolvendum sive dividendum proponit. Numerus in divisione inventus, dicitur *Quotiens*: siquidem dicit quoties dividendus continet divisorem vel (quod idem est) rationem dividendi ad divisorem; seu denique, partem dividendi a divisore denominatam.

In divisione, scriptis dividendo et divisore, sicut in exemplorum subjectorum primo, captoque initio a sinistris, pars dividendi divisori æqualis, vel cum proxime superans (intelligo valorem tantum simplicem) interposito puncto seponatur. Quærendum dein quoties divisor in membro isto contineatur, numerusque proveniens erit prima quotientis nota; porro divisor ducatur in notam inventam, productoque a membro dividendo ablato, residuum infra

notetur, cui adscripta sequente dividendi nota, confit novum membrum dividendum, unde eruatur nota secunda quotientis, mox in divisorem ducenda, ut producto ex membro proxime diviso ablato, residuum una cum sequente dividendi nota, præbeat novum membrum; atque ita porro, usque dum absoluta fuerit operatio. Subductis demum locis decimalibus divisoris ab iis qui sunt in dividendo, residuum indicabit quot loci partibus assignandi sunt in quotiente; quod si nequeat fieri subductio, adjiciantur dividendo tot cyfræ decimales quot opus est.

Peracta divisione, si quid superfuerit, adjectis cyfris decimalibus continuari poterit divisio, donec vel nihil restet, vel id tam exiguum sit, ut tuto negligi possit; aut etiam quotienti apponantur notæ residuæ subscripto iisdem divisore.

Si uterque, dividendus nempe et divisor, desinat in cyfras, hæ æquali numero utrinque rescindantur; si vero divisor solus cyfris terminetur, eæ omnes inter operandum negligantur, totidemque postremæ dividendi notæ abscissæ, sub finem operationis restituantur, scripto infra lineolam divisore.

Proponatur 45832, dividendus per 67. Quoniam divisor major est quam 45, adjecta nota sequente fiat 458, membrum primo dividendum; hoc interposito puncto a reliquis dividendi notis secerno. 6 in 45 continetur septies, et superest 3; veruntamen quoniam 7 non itidem septies in 28 reperitur, ideo minuendus est quotiens. Sumatur 6; 6 in 45 invenitur sexies, atque insuper 9, quin et 98 continet 7 sexies, est igitur 6 nota prima quotientis. Hæc in divisorem ducta procreat subducendum 402, quo sublato a 458, restant 56; his adscribo 3, proximam dividendi notam, unde confit novum membrum, nimirum 563, quod sicuti prius dividens, invenio 8 pro nota secunda quotientis: 8 in 67 dat 536, hunc subduco a membro 563, residuoque 27 adjiciens reliquam dividendi notam, viz. 2, habeo 272 pro novo dividendo, quod divisum dat 4, qua primo in quotiente scripta, dein in divisorem ducta, productoque ex 272 ablato, restant 4 quotienti, scripto infra lineolam divisore, adjicienda.

Expeditior est operatio, ubi subductio cujusque notæ multiplicationem immediate sequitur; ipsa autem multiplicatio a sinistra dextrorsum instituitur. E. g. Sit 12199980

dividendus per 156 (*vide* exempl. 3) sub 1219 primo dividendi membro scripto divisore, constat hunc in illo septies contineri; quamobrem 7 scribo in quotiente. Septies 1 est 7, quibus subductis ex 12, deleo tum notam multiplicatam 1, tum 12 partem membri unde auferebatur productum, residuum 5 supra notans; dein accedo ad proximam divisoris notam 5; 7 in 5 dat 35; 35 ex 51 ablatis, restant 16, quæ supra scribo, deletis 51 et 5. Deinde autem 7 in 6 duco, productoque 42 ex 69 subtracto, supersunt 27, quæ proinde noto, deletis interim tum 69 tum 6, ultima dividendi figura. Porro divisorem jam integre deletum, denuo versus dextram uno loco promotum scribo, perque illum membrum suprascriptum (quod quidem fit ex residuo membri proxime divisi sequente nota aucto) quemadmodum præcedens divido. Eodem modo divisor usque promoveatur quoad dividendum totum percurrerit[1].

67)458·32(684$\frac{4}{67}$	200)8200	~~41~~
402		~~123~~ ~~2~~
———	2) 82 (41	~~567173~~
563	8	~~12199980~~(78205
536	———	~~1566666~~
———	02	~~15555~~
272	2	~~111~~
268	———	
———	00	
004		

Jam vero præceptorum ratio dabitur; et primum quidem liquet, cur quotientem per partes investigemus.

2. Quæri potest, cur v. g. in exemplo supra allato habeatur 6 pro quotiente membri primi per divisorem divisi, nam 67 in 458 centuriis (pro centuriis nimirum habendæ sunt cum duobus locis sinistrorsum ab unitate distent) non sexies, sed sexcenties continetur? Respondeo, revera non simpliciter 6, sed 600 scribi in quotiente; duæ enim notæ postmodum inventæ istam sequuntur, atque ita

[1] This method of performing Division the old Italians rejoiced in, under the name of *galea*, from its shape, dear to a native of the Lagune.

quidem quotienti debitus semper conservatur valor; nam unicuique notæ tot loci in quotiente, quot membro unde eruebatur in dividendo postponuntur.

3. Quandoquidem nota quælibet quotientis indicat quoties id, ex quo eruebatur, dividendi membrum divisorem contineat; æquum est ut ex divisore, in notam proxime inventam ducto, confletur subducendum: tunc nempe aufertur divisor toties ad amussim quoties in dividendo continetur, nisi forsan æquo major aut minor sit numerus ultimo in quotiente scriptus. De illo quidem errore constabit, si productum tam magnum fuerit, ut subduci nequeat; de hoc, si e contra productum oriatur tam exiguum, ut peracta subductione residuum divisore majus sit vel ei æquale.

4. Ratio cur tot loci partibus seponantur in quotiente, quot cum iis qui sunt in divisore æquentur locis decimalibus dividendi, ex eo cernitur, quod numerus dividendus sit productum, cujus factores sunt divisor et quotus, adeoque ille tot habeat locos decimales quot hi ambo, id quod demonstravimus de multiplicatione agentes.

5. Patet cyfras decimales ad calcem dividendi adjectas ipsius valorem non immutare. Nam integros quod attinet, ii dummodo eodem intervallo supra unitates ascendant, eundem sortiuntur valorem; decimales vero non nisi præpositis cyfris in inferiorem gradum deprimuntur.

6. Quoniam quotiens exponit seu denominat rationem dividendi ad divisorem, patet proportione illa sive ratione existente eadem, eundem fore quotientem; sed abjectis cyfris communibus, ratio seu numerorum ad invicem habitudo minime mutatur. Sic v. g. 200 est ad 100, vel (quod idem est) 200 toties continet 100, quoties 2 continet 1, quod sane per se manifestum est.

CAP. VI

DE COMPOSITIONE ET RESOLUTIONE QUADRATI

Productum ex numero in seipsum ducto, dicitur numerus *quadratus*. Numerus autem ex cujus multiplicatione oritur quadratus, nuncupatur *latus* sive *radix quadrata*; et operatio qua numeri propositi radicem investigamus, dicitur

extractio radicis quadratæ, cujus intelligendæ causa juvabit genesin ipsius quadrati, partesque ex quibus componitur, earumque ordinem situmque contemplari. Veruntamen quoniam in inquirenda rerum cognitione consultius est a simplicissimis et facillimis ordiri, a contemplatione geneseos quadrati, ex radice binomia oriundi, initium capiamus.

Attentius itaque intuendum est, quid fiat ubi numerus duabus notis constans in seipsum ducatur. Et primo quidem manifestum est, primam a dextra radicis notam in notam supra positam, seipsam nempe, duci; unde oritur quadratum minoris membri. Deinde vero, eadem nota in sequentem multiplicandi, i. e. alteram radicis notam ducta, provenire rectangulum ab utroque radicis membro conflatum constat. Porro peracta multiplicatione totius multiplicandi per primam radicis notam, ad secundam accedimus, qua in primam multiplicandi notam ducta, oritur jam denuo rectangulum duarum radicis binomiæ notarum; deinde secunda multiplicandi nota, i. e. eadem per eandem, multiplicata, dat secundi membri radicis binomiæ quadratum.

Hinc ergo colligimus, quadratum quodvis a radice binomia procreatum constare primo ex quadrato membri minoris; secundo duplici rectangulo membrorum; tertio quadrato membri majoris.

Proponatur radix binomia, v. g. 23 quadranda, juxta ea quæ cap. 4. traduntur; primo duco 3 in 3, unde producitur 9, quadratum membri minoris. Secundo duco 3 in 2, alteram radicis notam; prodit 6, rectangulum utriusque notæ. Tertio, ex 2 in 3 ducto oritur jam secunda vice rectangulum membrorum. Quarto, 2 in 2 gignit 4, quadratum membri majoris.

```
23
23
---
69
46
```

Progrediamur ad genesin quadrati a radice trimembri. Atque hic, primo quidem, prima radicis nota in integram radicem ducta procreat, primo, primi membri quadratum; secundo, rectangulum membrorum primi ac secundi; tertio, rectangulum membrorum primi ac tertii. Secundo, secunda radicis nota multiplicans radicem dat, primo, rectangulum membrorum primi ac secundi; secundo, quadratum membri secundi; tertio, rectangulum membrorum secundi ac tertii. Tertio, ex tertia radicis nota in radicem ducta oritur, primo, rectangulum membrorum secundi ac tertii; secundo,

rectangulum membrorum secundi ac tertii; tertio, quadratum tertii membri radicis.

Hinc porro colligimus quadratum quodvis a radice trinomia genitum complecti, primo, quadratum notæ radicis primæ; secundo, duplex rectangulum notæ primæ in duas reliquas ductæ; tertio, quadratum duarum reliquarum, i. e. bina singularum quadrata et earundem duplex rectangulum, quæ quidem constituere quadratum duarum notarum jam ante ostendimus.

Simili methodo ostendi potest quadratum 4, 5, quotlibet notarum continere, primo quadratum notæ infimæ; secundo, duplex rectangulum ex infima in sequentes omnes ducta genitum; tertio, quadratum notarum omnium sequentium; quod ipsum (uti ex præmissis manifestum est) continet quadratum notæ a dextris secundæ, duplex rectangulum ejusdem in omnes sequentes ductæ, quadratum notarum omnium sequentium, quod pariter continet quadratum notæ tertiæ, bina rectangula illius et sequentium harumque quadratum, atque ita porro, usque quoad ventum sit ad quadratum altissimæ radicis notæ.

Inventis tandem partibus ex quibus componitur quadratum, restat ut circa earum ordinem situmque dispiciamus. Si itaque quadratum incipiendo a dextris in biniones partiamur, ex genesi quam supra tradidimus constabit, primum (a sinistris) membrum occupari a quadrato notæ primæ sive altissimæ, simul ac ab ea duplicis rectanguli ex notis prima et secunda in invicem ductis conflati portione, quæ extra primum sequentis binionis locum redundat: secundi locum primum continere dictum duplex rectangulum, atque insuper quicquid quadrati notæ secundæ, excurrat; secundum capere quadratum notæ secundæ, et quod redundat duplicis rectanguli duarum priorum notarum in tertiam ductarum (quoad notam infimam) ad locum primum tertii binionis pertinentis, et sic deinceps; v. g. in exemplo apposito, membrum primum 10 continet 9 quadratum notæ primæ 3, simul ac 1 qua 12 (duplex rectangulum notæ 3 in sequentem 2 ductæ) locum primum secundi membri transcendit. Primus locus secundi binionis capit 2 (duplicis rectanguli notarum 3 et 2 reliquum), atque etiam id quod extra locum proxime sequentem redundat, &c.

```
  321
  321
 -----
  321
  642
  963
 -----
10·30·41
```

Perspecta jam compositione quadrati, ad ejusdem analysin accedamus. Proponatur itaque numerus quivis (e. g. 103041), unde elicienda sit radix quadrata. Hunc incipiens a dextris, in biniones (si par sit locorum numerus, alioqui membrum ultimum ex unica constabit nota) distinguo. Quæro dein quadratum maximum in (10) membro versus lævam primo contentum, cujus radix (3) est nota prima radicis indagandæ, ipsum autem quadratum (9) a membro (10) subduco. Ex residuo (1) adjecta (3) nota prima sequentis membri confit dividendus (13), quem divido per notam inventam duplicatam (i. e. 6), quotiens (2) erit nota radicalis secunda; qua primo in divisorem, deinde in seipsam ducta, productisque in unam summam collectis, ita tamen ut posterius uno loco dextrorsum promoveatur (e. g.[12] 4) habeo numerum subducendum (124), hunc aufero ex dividendo (13) aucto (0) nota reliqua secundi membri: residuo (6) adjicio (4) notam primam tertii binionis, ut fiat novus dividendus (64), qui divisus per (64) duplum radicis hactenus inventæ dat (1) notam tertiam radicis indagandæ; hac tum in divisorem tum in seipsam ducta, factisque ut supra simul aggregatis, summam (641) subduco a dividendo (64) aucto accessione notæ alterius membri tertii: eadem plane methodo pergendum quantumvis producatur operatio.

```
  103041(321
    9
  ------
6)13·0
  124
  ------
 64)641
  ------
   641
  ------
   000
```

Si quid post ultimam subductionem superfuerit, id tibi indicio sit, numerum propositum non fuisse quadratum; verumtamen adjectis resolvendo cyfris decimalibus operatio extendi poterit quousque lubet.

Numerus locorum decimalium, si qui fuerint, in resolvendo bipartitus indicabit, quot ponendi sunt in radice. Cujus ratio cernitur ex cap. 4.

Ratio operandi abunde patet ex præmissis. Nam e. g. adhibui (6) duplum notæ inventæ pro divisore, propterea quod ex tradita quadrati compositione, duplex rectangulum notæ illius (3) in sequentem (2) ductæ dividendum complecti rescissem, eoque adeo diviso per duplum factoris unius (3) confactorem ejus (2) h. e. notam proximam radicis innotescere. Similiter, subducendum conflavi ex duplici rectangulo quotientis et divisoris, simul ac quotientis quad-

rato in unum, ea qua dictum est ratione, collectis; quia bina illa rectangula et quadratum eo ordine in residuo et membro sequente, ex quibus fiebat subductio, contineri deprehenderam, atque ita quidem potestatis resolutio ex ipsius compositione facili admodum negotio deducitur.

CAP. VII

DE COMPOSITIONE ET RESOLUTIONE CUBI

Radix in quadratum ducta procreat cubum. Ut sternamus viam ad analysin cubi, a compositione potestatis (quemadmodum in capite præcedenti factum) sumendum est initium. In productione igitur cubi a radice binomia primum radicis membrum offendit, primo, suiipsius quadratum, unde cubus notæ primæ; secundo, duplex rectangulum membrorum, unde duplex solidum quadrati notæ primæ in alteram ducti; tertio, quadratum membri alterius, unde solidum ex nota prima et quadrato secundæ genitum. Similiter, facta multiplicatione per membrum secundum, oritur primo, solidum notæ secundæ et quadrati primæ; secundo, duplex solidum notæ primæ et quadrati secundæ; tertio, cubus membri secundi.

Continet ergo cubus a radice binomia procreatus singulorum membrorum cubos et 6 solida, nimirum 3 facta ex quadrato membri utriusvis in alterum ducto.

Hinc ratiocinio ad analogiam capitis præcedentis protracto, constabit, si (ut quadratum in biniones, ita) cubus a quantavis radice genitus, in terniones distribuatur, ternionem seu membrum a sinistris primum continere cubum notæ sinistrorsum primæ, simul ac redundantiam (si quæ sit) 3 solidorum quadrati ejusdem in secundam ducti; locum primum secundi capere dicta solida et redundantiam 3 solidorum quadrati notæ secundæ in primam, locum secundum eadem 3 solida et redundantiam cubi notæ secundæ; tertium occupari a dicto cubo, simul ac redundantia 3 solidorum, ex quadrato notarum præcedentium in tertiam ducto genitorum: locum primum tertii membri solida ultimo memorata obtinere, et sic deinceps. Hinc facile derivabimus methodum eliciendæ radicis cubicæ, quæ est ut sequitur.

Incipiendo a dextris, resolvendum (80621568) in terniones (præter membrum postremum quod minus esse potest) punctis interpositis distribuo. Dein cubum maximum (64) in (80) primo versus sinistram membro contentum subduco, scriptaque illius radice (4) in notam primam radicis quæsitæ, residuo (16) adscribo (6) notam proximam resolvendi, unde confit dividendum (166) quod divido per (48) triplum quadrati notæ inventæ: quotiens (3) est nota secunda radicis: hanc duco, primo in divisorem; secundo, ipsius quadratum in triplum notæ primæ; postremo, ipsam in seipsam bis. Producta ea lege aggregata, ut secundum a primo, tertium a secundo, uno loco dextrorsum ponatur, $\left\{\begin{array}{r} 144 \\ 108 \\ 27 \end{array}\right\}$ subduco a dividendo aucto accessione duarum notarum reliquarum membri secundi. Ad eundem modum, utut prolixa sit operatio, numerum dividendum semper præstat residuum, adjuncta prima sequentis membri nota: divisorem vero, triplum quadrati notarum radicis hactenus inventarum: et subducendum, nota ultimo reperta in divisorem ducta, ejusdem quadratum in triplum notarum præcedentium: postremo illius cubus, ea qua diximus ratione aggregati, constituent.

```
      80·621·568(432
      64
      ————————
   48)166·21
       15507
 5547)1114568
       1114568
       ————————
       0000000
```

Si numerus resolvendus non sit cubus, quod superest, adjectis locis decimalibus, in infinitum exhauriri potest.

Radici assignanda est pars tertia locorum decimalium resolvendi.

N. B. Operationes syntheticæ examinari possunt per analyticas, et vicissim analyticæ per syntheticas: adeoque si numero alterutro ex summa duorum subducto, restet alter, recte peracta est additio; et vice versa, extra dubium ponitur subductio, quoties aggregatum subducti et residui æquatur numero majori dato. Similiter, si quotiens in divisorem, aut radix in seipsam ducta procreet dividendum, aut resolvendum, id tibi indicio sit, in divisionem aut resolutionem nullum repsisse vitium.

ARITHMETICÆ

PARS SECUNDA

CAP. I

QUID SINT FRACTIONES?

Scripto divisore infra dividendum, ductaque linea intermedia, divisionem utcunque designari, jam ante[1] monuimus. Hujusmodi autem quotientes dicuntur numeri fracti seu *fractiones*, propterea quod numerus superior, qui dicitur etiam numerator, dividitur seu frangitur in partes ab inferiore denominatas, qui proinde dicitur denominator: e.g. in hac fractione $\frac{2}{4}$ 2 est dividendus seu numerator, 4 divisor seu denominator; ipsa autem fractio indicat quotientem qui oritur ex divisis 2 per 4, h.e. quadrantem duarum rerum quarumvis, vel duos quadrantes unius; nempe idem sonant.

N.B. Patet numeros qui partes decimales denotant, quique vulgo fractiones decimales audiunt, subscripto nominatore, per modum fractionum vulgarium exprimi posse. E.g., 25 valent $\frac{25}{100}$; ,004 valent $\frac{4}{1000}$ &c. id quod faciamus oportet, aut saltem factum intelligamus, quotiescunque eæ in fractiones vulgares aut vicissim hæ in illas reducendæ sint, aut aliam quamvis operationem, utrosque fractos, vulgares et decimales ex æquo respicientem, fieri contingat.

[1] [Cap. v. p. 1.]—Author.

CAP. II

DE ADDITIONE ET SUBDUCTIONE FRACTIONUM

1. Si fractiones, quarum summa aut differentia quæritur, eundem habent nominatorem, sumatur summa aut differentia numeratorum, cui subscriptus communis nominator quæsitum dabit.

2. Si non sunt ejusdem nominis, ad idem reducantur. Nominatores dati in se invicem ducti dabunt novum nominatorem; cujusque autem fractionis numerator, in nominatores reliquarum ductus, dabit numeratorem novæ fractionis datæ æqualis. Dein cum novis fractionibus operandum ut supra.

3. Si integer fractioni addendus sit, aut ab ea subducendus, vel vice versa, is ad fractionem datæ cognominem reducatur; nempe illi in nominatorem datum ducto idem nominator subscribendus est.

Additio	$\frac{1}{5}$ ad $\frac{2}{5}$ sum. $\frac{3}{5}$	
Subductio	$\frac{1}{5}$ a $\frac{2}{5}$ resid. $\frac{1}{5}$	
Additio	$\frac{2}{3}$ ad $\frac{3}{4}$, i. e. $\frac{8}{12}$ ad $\frac{9}{12}$ sum. $1\frac{7}{12}$	
Subductio	$\frac{2}{3}$ a $\frac{3}{4}$, i. e. $\frac{8}{12}$ ex $\frac{9}{12}$ resid. $\frac{1}{12}$	
Additio	3 ad $\frac{5}{8}$, i. e. $\frac{24}{8}$ ad $\frac{5}{8}$ sum. $\frac{29}{8}$	
Subductio	$\frac{5}{8}$ ex. 3 i. e. $\frac{24}{8}$ resid. $\frac{19}{8}$	

Primo, Dicendum est, cur fractiones, antequam operemur, ad idem nomen reducamus: atque id quidem propterea fit, quod numeri res heterogeneas numerantes in unum colligi, aut ab invicem subduci nequeant. E.g. Si velim addere tres denarios duobus solidis, summa non erit 5 sol. aut 5 den. neque enim illa prius haberi potest quam res numeratas ad idem genus reducam, adhibendo loco duorum solidorum 24 denarios, quibus si addam 3 den. oritur aggregatum 27 den. pari ratione 2 partes tertias et 3 quartas una colligens, non scribo 5 partes, tertias aut quartas; sed earum loco usurpo 8 duodecimas et 9 duodecimas, quarum summa est 17 duodecimæ.

Secundo, Ostendam quod fractiones post reductionem idem valeant ac prius, e.g. quod $\frac{2}{3}$ æquentur $\frac{4}{12}$: siquidem uterque nominator et numerator per eundem numerum (v.g. 4) multiplicantur; omnis autem fractio exprimit rationem numeratoris, seu dividendi, ad nominatorem, seu divisorem; proinde dummodo ratio illa eadem manet, fractio eundem retinet valorem; sed ducto utroque rationis termino in unum eundemque numerum, certum est rationem non mutari: e.g. si dimidium rei cujusvis sit dimidii alterius rei duplum, erit et totum illud totius hujus duplum; quod quidem tam liquido patet, ut demonstratione non indigeat.

Tertio, Integer ad fractionem reductus non mutat valorem: nam si 2 numerorum rectangulum per unum eorundem dividatur, quotiens erit alter, sed in reductione integri ad fractum is in nominatorem datum ducitur, et per eundem dividitur: igitur quotiens, h.e. fractio, valet integrum primo datum.

N.B. Utile nonnunquam erit, fractionem ad datum nomen reducere; e.g. $\frac{2}{3}$ ad alteram, cujus nominator sit 9: quod quidem fit per regulam trium (de qua vide par. 3. cap. 1.) inveniendo numerum, ad quem nominator datus ita se habeat ac fractionis datæ nominator ad ejusdem numeratorem; is erit numerator fracti cujus datum est nomen, valor autem idem qui prioris; quippe inter fractionis terminos eadem est utrobique ratio.

CAP. III

DE MULTIPLICATIONE FRACTIONUM

1. Si ducenda sit fractio in fractionem, datarum fractionum numeratores in se invicem ducti, dabunt numeratorem producti; dati item nominatores procreabunt ejusdem nominatorem.

2. Si multiplicanda sit fractio per integrum, ducatur integer datus in numeratorem fractionis, eodem manente nominatore.

3. Si in factore alterutro, vel utroque occurrant integri, aut fractiones heterogeneæ, ei claritatis causa una colligi poterunt.

EXEMPLA MULTIPLICATIONIS

Multiplic.	$\frac{2}{3}$ per $\frac{5}{8}$ pro. $\frac{10}{24}$	$\frac{4}{7}$ per 2 prod. $\frac{8}{7}$
Multiplic.	2 & $\frac{3}{5}$ per $\frac{1}{2}$ & $\frac{2}{3}$ *i.e.* $\frac{13}{5}$ per $\frac{7}{6}$	

Manifestum est quotientem eadem proportione augeri, qua dividendum: E.g. si 2 continetur ter in 6, continebitur bis ter in bis 6; liquet insuper eundem eadem proportione minui, qua crescit divisor. E.g. si numerus 3 continetur quater in 12, continebitur bis 3 duntaxat bis in 12: igitur cum ut multiplicem $\frac{2}{3}$ per $\frac{5}{8}$, augenda sit fractio $\frac{2}{3}$ ratione quintupla, quoniam per 5, et minuenda ratione octupla, quoniam non simpliciter per 5, sed solummodo ejus partem octavam multiplicatur; duco dividendum 2 in 5, et divisorem 3 in 8.

2. Quod ad regulam secundam, constat bis 4 res quasvis æquari 8 rebus ejusdem denominationis, quæcunque demum sit illa.

CAP. IV

DE DIVISIONE FRACTIONUM

1. Fractio per integrum dividitur, ducendo integrum datum in nominatorem fractionis datæ.

2. Si fractio per fractionem dividenda sit, numerator divisoris ductus in nominatorem dividendi dabit nominatorem quotientis; et ejusdem nominator ductus in numeratorem dividendi dabit numeratorem quotientis.

3. Quotiescunque admiscentur integri aut fractiones diversi nominis, facilius operabere si membra utriusque, tum dividendi tum divisoris, in binas summas colligantur.

EXEMPLA DIVISIONIS

Div. | $\frac{3}{4}$ per 2, quot. $\frac{3}{8}$ |
Div. $\frac{4}{9}$ per $\frac{2}{5}$, quot. $\frac{20}{18}$
Div. $2\frac{1}{3} + \frac{3}{2}$ per $3\frac{2}{5}$, i. e. $\frac{23}{6}$ per $\frac{17}{5}$

1°. Quantum ad primam regulam, ex capite præcedenti constat, fractionem eadem proportione minui seu dividi, qua multiplicatur nominator.

2°. Postquam dividens fractionem unam per aliam, e.g. $\frac{4}{9}$ per $\frac{2}{5}$, duxi nominatorem 9 in 2, fractio $\frac{1}{18}$ dicit tantum quoties 2 continetur in dividendo; illius vero quintuplum indicabit quoties pars quinta numeri 2 ibidem continetur; quapropter quotientem primum $\frac{4}{18}$ duco in 5, inde fit $\frac{20}{18}$.

N.B. Si fractiones datæ sunt homogeneæ, brevius est et concinnius dividere numeratorem dividendi per numeratorem divisoris, quotiescunque illum hic metitur. Sic divisis $\frac{6}{8}$ per $\frac{3}{8}$ quotiens erit 2, quæcunque enim numerantur 6 bis continent 3.

2. Si extrahenda sit radix e fractione data, radix nominatoris radici numeratoris subscripta constituet fractionem quæ erit radix quæsita. E.g. $\frac{2}{3}$ est radix quadrata fractionis $\frac{4}{9}$, et cubica fractionis $\frac{8}{27}$; nam ex iis quæ de multiplicatione diximus patet, $\frac{2}{3}$ in $\frac{2}{3}$ producere $\frac{4}{9}$, et $\frac{2}{3}$ in $\frac{4}{9}$ dare $\frac{8}{27}$.

CAP. V

DE REDUCTIONE FRACTIONUM AD MINIMOS TERMINOS

1. Quoniam fractionum quæ ex minimis terminis constant valor clarius agnoscitur, utile est fractionis terminos, quoties id fieri potest, per communem aliquam mensuram dividere. Quanto autem major fuerit communis iste divisor, tanto minores erunt quotientes seu termini fractionis datæ æqualis. Oportet itaque, datis duobus numeris, intelligere methodum inveniendi maximam eorum communem mensuram, i.e. divisorem maximum qui datos dividat absque residuo. Qui est ut sequitur:

2. Divide majorem e datis per minorem, et divisorem per divisionis residuum, et si quod denuo supersit residuum, per illud residuum prius, i.e. ultimum divisorem, dividas; atque ita porro, donec veneris ad divisorem qui dividendum suum exhauriat sive metiatur; is est maxima datorum communis mensura.

E.g. Proponantur 9 et 15. Divido 15 per 9, restant 6. Divido 9 per 6, restant 3: porro divisis 6 per 3, restat nihil. Ergo 3 est maxima communis mensura datorum numerorum 9 et 15: quod sic ostendo.

(*a*) 3 metitur 6, at (*b*) 6 metitur 9 demptis 3; igitur 3 metitur 9 demptis 3; sed 3 metitur seipsum, metitur ergo integrum 9: atqui (*c*) 9 metitur 15 demptis 6, ergo 3 metitur 15 demptis 6, metitur vero 6; igitur metitur integrum numerum 15. Hinc patet 3 esse propositorum 9 et 15 communem mensuram. Superest ut ostendam eandem esse maximam. Si negas, esto alia quæpiam major, puta 5; jam quoniam (*d*) 5 metitur 9, (*e*) 9 vero metitur 15 demptis 6, liquet 5 metiri 15 demptis 6; sed et integrum

(*a*) per const. (*b*) per const. (*c*) per const. (*d*) per hyp. (*e*) per const

15 (ex hypothesi) metitur, igitur metitur 6; 6 autem metitur 9 demptis 3, ergo 5 metitur 9 demptis 3. Quoniam igitur 5 metitur et integrum 9, et 9 demptis 3, metietur ipsum 3, h.e. (*f*) numerum minorem; quod est absurdum.

Inventa maxima communi mensura, patet fractionem $\frac{9}{15}$ deprimi posse ad hanc $\frac{3}{5}$, quam priori æqualem esse sic ostendo. Omnis fractio denotat quotientem numeratoris divisi per nominatorem; in divisione autem, quotiens dicit rationem dividendi ad divisorem, dum igitur ratio eadem manet, erit et quotiens seu fractio eadem. Porro rationem non mutari, terminis ejus pariter divisis, liquido constat; e.g. si res quælibet sit alterius rei dupla, vel tripla, erit et dimidium illius, dimidii hujus, duplum vel triplum, &c.

[[1] Qui fractiones per integros dividere et multiplicare novit, is in fractionibus (ut vocant) fractionum ad simplices reducendis nullam difficultatem experietur. Nam v.g. hæc fractio fractionis $\frac{3}{4}$ de $\frac{2}{5}$ ecquid aliud est quam pars quarta fractionis $\frac{2}{5}$ triplicata, sive $\frac{2}{20}$ ducta in integrum 3? Similiter, ductis in invicem tam numeratoribus quam nominatoribus, fractio fractionis fractionis, &c. ad integrum reducitur. Hæc cum tam clara sint et per se manifesta, mirum profecto per quantas ambages, quam operosam theorematum, citationum, et specierum supellectilem a nonnullis demonstrantur, dicam, an obscurantur?]

(*f*) per hyp.

[1] The sentences within brackets are not in the 1707 edition.

ARITHMETICÆ

PARS TERTIA

CAP. I

DE REGULA PROPORTIONIS

Regula *proportionalis* dicitur, qua, datis quibus numeris, invenitur quartus proportionalis. Illius quidem usus frequens est et eximius: unde nuncupatur *regula aurea*. Dicitur etiam *regula trium*, ob 3 terminos datos. Porro quartum directe proportionalem invenies, multiplicando terminum secundum per tertium, et productum per primum dividendo: E. g. si ut 2 ad 6, ita se habeat 4 ad quæsitum, duc 4 in 6, et productum 24 divide per 2, quotiens 12 erit quartus proportionalis quæsitus. Quod sic demonstro:

In quatuor proportionalibus, productum extremorum æquatur producto terminorum intermediorum. Nam propterea quod numeri sint proportionales, h. e. eandem habeant inter se rationem, ratio vero per divisionem cognoscatur, diviso termino secundo per primum, et quarto per tertium, idem proveniet quotiens; qui (ex natura divisionis) ductus in terminum primum, producet secundum, et in tertium, producet quartum. Jam, si ducamus terminum primum in quartum, vel (quod idem est) in tertium et quotientem continue, et terminum tertium in secundum, vel (quod idem est) in primum et quotientem continue, patet producta fore æqualia, nam iidem sunt utrobique factores. Sed ex natura multiplicationis et divisionis

constat, diviso producto per unum e factoribus, quotientem esse alterum. Igitur, si dividam productum duorum terminorum intermediorum (6 et 4) per primum (2), quotiens (12) exhibebit quartum proportionalem quæsitum.

Quæstio 1. Viator tribus horis conficit quindecim milliaria; quot conficiet novem horarum spatio? *Resp.* 45. Patet enim ex quæstione, ut 3 ad 15, ita 9 esse ad quæsitum: i. e. 3 : 15 : : 9: ergo 135, productum ex 9 in 15, divisum per 3, dabit quæsitum, viz. 45.

Quæst. 2. Si 2 operarii 4 diebus merentur 2*s.* 5 quantam mercedem merebuntur 7 diebus? h. e. ut 2 in 4 ad 2, ita 5 in 7 ad quæsitum: sive 8 : 2 : : 35 : ? Unde invenitur quæsita merces, viz. 8*s.* 6*d.*

Quæst. 3. Tres mercatores, inita societate, lucrifaciunt 100*l.* expendebat autem primus 5*l.* secundus 8*l.* tertius 10*l.* Quæritur quantum lucri singulis seorsim contigit? summa impensarum est 23*l.* Dic itaque, ut 23 ad 5, ita 100 ad quæsitum: numerus proveniens indicabit quantum primo de communi lucro debetur; æquum nempe est, ut quam proportionem habet cujusque impensa ad summam impensarum, eandem habeat ipsius lucrum ad summam lucrorum. Porro ad eundem modum dicendo 23 : 8 : : 100 : ? et 23 : 10 : : 100 : ? cæterorum lucra innotescent.

[[1] Proportio composita inversa in simplices facillime resolvitur. V. g. 2 homines expendunt, 5, 6 diebus : 30 quot diebus expendent 8 homines? Dic primo 2 : 5 : : 8 : ? invenies 20; dic igitur denuo 20 : 6 : 30 : ? et habebis quæsitum. Qua vero ratione terminus quæsitus simul et semel per regulam satis intricatam innotescat, explicare superfluum duco.] lib. lib.

Quæst. 4. Quatuor fistulæ implent cisternam 12 horis; quot horis implebitur illa, ab 8 ejusdem magnitudinis? Dicendum 8 : 4 : : 12 : ? Proinde 4 in 12, h. e. 48, divisa per 8, exhibent quæsitum, viz. 6. Neque in hoc casu, ubi invertitur proportio ulla est nova difficultas; nam terminis rite dispositis, semper habebimus bina æqualia rectangula, quorum unius notum est utrumque latus, alterum vero conflatur ex noto termino in ignotum ducto: quare divi-

[1] The two following sentences are not in the 1707 edition.

dendo productum illud prius per notum latus, seu factorem hujus, proveniet terminus ignotus. Quo autem ordine disponendi sint termini, ex ipsa quæstione palam fiet.

CAP. II

DE ALLIGATIONE.

Regula *alligationis simplicis* dicitur, qua, propositis duabus rebus diversi pretii aut ponderis, &c. invenitur tertium quoddam genus, ex datis ita compositum, ut illius pretium vel pondus, &c. æquetur dato cuidam pretio vel ponderi, &c. inter proposita intermedio. E.g. Pollex cubicus auri pendit uncias (18), pollex cubicus argenti uncias (12). Quæritur pollex cubicus metalli cujusdam ex utroque mixti qui pendat 16 uncias; in quo problemate, pondus intermedium 16 superat argenti pondus per 4, et superatur ab auri pondere per 2. Jam, si capiamus $\frac{2}{6}$ cubi argentei, et $\frac{4}{6}$ cubi aurei, patet eas una conflatas dare pollicem cubicum; quippe $\frac{2}{6}$ et $\frac{4}{6}$ æquantur unitati. Quin patet etiam metalli hujusce mixti pondus æquari dato intermedio 16; nam argenti, quod levius est per 4, accepimus 2 partes; igitur defectus est 2 in 4; auri vero, quod gravius est per 2, accepimus 4 partes: adeoque excessus est 4 in 2, i. e. æqualis defectui; qui proinde se mutuo tollunt.

Hinc oritur regula pro alligatione rerum duarum: Fractio quæ nominatur a summa differentiarum, et numeratur a defectu minoris infra medium indicat quantitatem majoris sumendam; et vicissim quæ eundem habens nominatorem, numeratur ab excessu majoris supra medium, indicat quantitatem minoris sumendam.

Quæst. Sunt duo genera argenti, uncia purioris valet 7, vilioris 4, quæruntur 3 unciæ argenti, quæ valeant singulæ 5? Resol. constat ex regula, si accipiam $\frac{2}{3}$ unciæ vilioris, et $\frac{1}{3}$ unciæ purioris argenti, haberi unam unciam mixti quæsiti; hæc triplicata solvit quæstionem.

Quod si res alligandæ sint plures duabus, dicitur *alligatio composita*. E.g. sunt quinque vini genera, vis massici est 1, chii 3, falerni 5, cæcubi 7, corcyræi 9: volo mixtum cujus vis sit 4. Mixti æqualiter ex chio et massico, vis

erit 2: nimirum dimidium summæ datarum 1 et 3, uti per se patet. Similiter, mixti æqualiter ex falerno cæcubo et corcyræo, vis erit 7, i.e. $\frac{1}{3}$ numeri 21, seu summæ virium misturam hancce componentium. 2 et 7 alligo cum vi intermedia data, viz. 4, defectus est 2, excessus 3, summa differentiarum 5: igitur sumendæ sunt $\frac{3}{5}$ misturæ prioris, $\frac{2}{5}$ posterioris; porro divisis $\frac{3}{5}$ per 2, quotiens indicat quantum singulorum, chii et massici, accipiendum sit. Similiter $\frac{2}{5}$ divisæ per 3 dicent quantum falerni, &c. mixturæ quæsitæ inesse debet. Proinde $\frac{3}{10}$ massici, $\frac{3}{10}$ chii, $\frac{2}{15}$ falerni, $\frac{2}{15}$ cæcubi, $\frac{2}{15}$ corcyræi dabunt quæsitum.

Hinc cernimus, quomodo alligatio composita ad simplicem reducatur. Nimirum pondera, pretia, magnitudines, aut quæcunque demum sunt alliganda, in binas colligantur summas, quæ dividendæ sunt, utraque, per numerum terminorum qui ipsam constituunt: quotientes juxta regulam alligationis simplicis alligentur cum termino intermedio: quæ proveniunt fractiones, divisæ singulæ per numerum rerum, mixturam sive summam ad quam spectant ingredientium, indigitabunt quantitatem ex singulis capiendam. Demonstratio patet ex dictis.

N. B. In alligatione plurium rerum quæstio quævis innumeras admittit solutiones, idque ob duplicem rationem: nam primo termini deficientes cum excedentibus diversimode colligi possunt; unde varii prodibunt quotientes, cum dato termino intermedio alligandi. Cavendum tamen est ne dicti quotientes sint simul majores, aut simul minores medio; quod si eveniat, patet quæsitum esse impossibile. Secundo, unum eundemque terminum licet sæpius repetere; unde illius portio augebitur, reliquorum vero portiones minuentur.

Libet in studiosorum gratiam hic exhibere solutionem celebris illius problematis, ad Archimedem ab Hierone propositi.

Quæst. Ex conflatis auro et argento fit corona: quæritur quantum ei insit auri, quantum argenti? coronam interim violari non sinit tyrannus. *Respon.* Parentur binæ massæ, una auri, altera argenti, quarum utraque sit ejusdem ponderis ac corona. Quibus paratis, patet problema, alia forma, sic proponi posse: datis v. g. libra auri, et libra argenti, invenire libram metalli ex utroque compositi, quæ

sit datæ intermediæ molis: igitur inquirendæ sunt massarum et coronæ magnitudines. Quoniam vero coronæ soliditas geometrice determinari nequeat, opus est stratagemate. Singulæ ergo vasi aqua pleno seorsim immergantur; mensuretur autem quantitas aquæ ad cujusque immersionem profluentis quam immersæ moli magnitudine æqualem esse constat: immerso utique auro, aqua exundans sit 5, argento 9, corona 6. Huc igitur redit quæstio; datis libra auri cujus magnitudo est 5, et libra argenti cujus magnitudo est 9, quæritur quantum ex singulis capere oporteat, ut habeamus libram metalli cujus magnitudo sit 6: proinde alligatis 9 et 5 cum magnitudine intermedia 6, innotescet quantitas auri, viz. $\frac{3}{4}$ lib. et $\frac{1}{4}$ lib. quantitas argenti, coronæ immisti.

Hinc patet, quam non difficile sit problema, ob cujus solutionem notum illud εὕρηκα ingeminavit olim Archimedes.

CAP. III

DE PROGRESSIONE ARITHMETICA ET GEOMETRICA, ET DE LOGARITHMIS.

Progressio Arithmetica dicitur series numerorum, eadem communi differentia crescentium vel decrescentium. E. g. In hac serie 1. 4. 7. 10. 13. 16. 19. 22. 25, 3 est communis excessus, quo terminus secundus excedit primum, tertius secundum, quartus tertium, et sic deinceps: et in hac altera decrescentium serie, 15. 13. 11. 9. 7. 5. 3. 1, 2 est communis defectus, quo terminus quilibet a præcedenti deficit.

Jam ex ipso seriorum harumce intuitu et quam præmisimus definitione, manifestum est, unumquemque terminum continere minorem extremum, simul ac communem differentiam, multiplicatam per numerum locorum quibus ab eodem distat. E. g. In prima serie terminus quintus 13 constat ex minore extremo 1, et communi differentia 3, ducta in 4, i. e. numerum locorum quibus a minimo extremo distat. Hinc dato minore extremo, et communi differentia, terminus quivis, e. g. a minimo undecimus exclusive, facile inveniri potest, ducendo differentiam 3 in 11, et productum

33 minori extremo 1 addendo. Idem invenitur, datis majore extremo, differentia communi, et numero locorum quibus terminus quæsitus a maximo sejungitur, ducendo communem differentiam in numerum locorum datum, et productum e majore extremo auferendo. Patet etiam qua ratione datis termino quolibet, ejusdem indice, et communi differentia, terminus primus assignetur; et quomodo ex datis termino quovis, illius indice, et minore extremo, communis differentia itemque ex datis termino, differentia, et minore extremo, termini index eruatur. Quin et illud etiam patet, viz. dimidium summæ duorum terminorum æquari medio proportionali arithmetico. E. g. 7 et 13 faciunt 20, cujus dimidium 10 est terminus inter datos medius (*vide seriem primam*). Hæc et alia bene multa theoremata ac problemata, eorumque solutiones, ex ipsa progressionis arithmeticæ natura facile quisquam deduxerit, præsertim si logistica speciosa utatur. Quapropter ea exercitii causa tyronibus relinquo.

Progressio Geometrica vocatur series numerorum, eadem continua ratione crescentium vel decrescentium. E. g. 3. 6. 12. 24. 48. 96. sunt in progressione geometrica, cujus ratio communis est dupla, nimirum terminus quisque duplus est præcedentis. Similiter numeri hujus decrescentis seriei, 81. 27. 9. 3. 1. progrediuntur ratione subtripla, i. e. terminus quilibet præcedentis subtriplus est sive $\frac{1}{3}$.

Ubi observandum est, terminum quemvis conflari ex potestate communis rationis, ipsi cognomine, in terminum primum ducta. E. g. In serie prima, 48, terminus exclusive quartus, producitur ex 16, potestate quarta numeri 2 (i. e. quæ generatur ex 2 ter in seipsum ducto, siquidem ipsa radix dicitur potestas prima) per terminum primum 3 multiplicata. Quamobrem ea quæ de progressione arithmetica diximus etiam hic locum habent, si pro additione et subductione multiplicationem et divisionem, pro multiplicatione et divisione involutionem et evolutionem, sive radicum extractionem adhibeamus[1]. E. g. Quemadmodum in progressione arithmetica summa extremorum bisecta dat medium arithmeticum, ita in progressione geo-

[1] [N.B. Quomodo potestatum quarumvis radices extrahantur, lector diligens, juxta methodum quam secuti sumus de quadrato et cubo eorumque radicibus agentes, investigare poterit.]—AUTHOR.

metrica medius proportionalis est radix producti extremorum. Adeoque theoremata et problemata quod spectat, iis, cum illa ex nuda serierum contemplatione facillime eruantur, ulterius deducendis non immorabimur.

At vero unum est progressionis geometricæ theorema, ex quo olim derivata fuit, et etiamnum dependet nobilis logarithmorum scientia, quodque adeo hic visum est explicare.

In progressione geometrica cujus principium est unitas, rectangulum duorum quorumlibet terminorum æquatur termino ejusdem progressionis, qui pro indice habet summam indicum factorum. E. g. Si sequentis seriei $\left\{\begin{matrix} 1. & 2. & 4. & 8. & 16. & 32. & 64. \\ 0. & 1. & 2. & 3. & 4. & 5. & 6. \end{matrix}\right\}$ ducamus terminum secundum 2 in quartum 8, productum 16 est terminus quintus, cujus index 4 æquatur indicibus secundi et quarti una collectis.

Ratio manifesta est: nam quælibet potestas, in aliam quamcunque ejusdem radicis ducta, procreat tertiam, cujus dimensiones tot sunt, quot fuere in utraque potestate generante. Sed in progressione geometrica, cujus terminus primus sit unitas, patet reliquos omnes subsequentes esse potestates ex communi ratione genitas, quarum singulæ tot habeant dimensiones, quot locis ab unitate distant.

Igitur si infinitæ progressioni geometricæ adscriberetur indicum series itidem infinita, ad obtinendum duorum terminorum rectangulum haud necesse foret unum per alterum multiplicare; oporteret solummodo, indicibus una collectis, quærere indicem qui aggregato æquetur; is sibi adscriptum ostenderet rectangulum quæsitum. Similiter, si dividendus sit unus terminus per alium, differentia indicum, si extrahenda sit radix quadrata aut cubica, $\frac{1}{2}$ aut $\frac{1}{3}$ indicis, quæsitum quotum, vel radicem, indigitaret.

Hinc patet, difficiliores arithmeticæ operationes insigni compendio exerceri posse, si conderentur tabulæ, in quibus numeri naturali ordine collocati habeant singuli indicem a latere respondentem: tunc quippe multiplicatio, sola additione; divisio, subductione; extractio radicum, bisectione vel trisectione indicum, peragerentur. Sed indices illos, sive logarithmos, numeris accommodare, *hoc opus, hic labor est*; in quo exantlando plurimi desudarunt mathematici.

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Primi quidem tabularum conditores hac fere methodo usi sunt. Numeris 1. 10. 100. 1000, &c. in progressione decupla existentibus, logarithmos assignarunt 0.0000000. 1.0000000. 2.0000000. 3.0000000, &c. Deinde ut numeri alicujus, v.g. 4, inter 1 et 10 intermedii, logarithmum invenirent, adjectis utrique septem cyfris, inter 1.0000000, et 10.0000000, medium proportionalem quæsiere; qui si minor esset quam 4, inter ipsum et 10.0000000, si vero major, inter eum et 1.0000000, medius proportionalis indagandus erat: porro inter hunc (si minor esset quam 4) et proxime majorem, sin major, et proxime minorem, denuo quærebant medium proportionalem; et sic deinceps, usque dum ventum fuisset ad numerum, non nisi insensibili particula, puta $\frac{1}{10000000}$, a proposito 4 differentem. Hujus autem logarithmus obtinebatur, inveniendo medium arithmeticum inter logarithmos numerorum 1 et 10, et alium inter ipsum et logarithmum denarii, &c. Jam si bipartiatur logarithmus numeri 4, habebitur logarithmus binarii, idem duplicatus dat logarithmum numeri 16; et si logarithmo quaternionis addatur logarithmus binarii, summa erit logarithmus octonarii. Simili methodo, ex uno logarithmo numerii 4 alii innumeri inveniri possunt.

Ad eundem modum, cum cæteris numeris inter unitatem et decadem intermediis aptati essent logarithmi, alios quamplurimos eorum summæ, differentiæ, &c. suppeditarunt. Sed de his satis; neque enim omnia quæ ad logarithmos spectant tradere statuimus: id duntaxat propositum fuit, eorum naturam, usum, et inventionem quadantenus exponere.

MISCELLANEA MATHEMATICA

SIVE

COGITATA NONNULLA

DE

RADICIBUS SURDIS, DE ÆSTU AERIS, DE CONO ÆQUILATERO ET CYLINDRO EIDEM SPHÆRÆ CIRCUMSCRIPTIS, DE LUDO ALGEBRAICO

ET

PARÆNETICA QUÆDAM AD STUDIUM MATHESEOS PRÆSERTIM ALGEBRÆ.

AUTORE * * * * ART. BAC. TRIN. COL. DUB.

First published in 1707

EGREGIO ADOLESCENTI

D. SAMUELI MOLYNEUX[1],

IN ACADEMIA DUBLINIENSI SOCIORUM COMMENSALI, FILIO VIRI CLARISSIMI GULIELMI MOLYNEUX[1], PAUCIS AB HINC ANNIS ACERBO, TAM PATRIÆ QUAM REI LITERARIÆ, FATO DENATI.

EGREGIE ADOLESCENS,

TANTA fuit patris tui, dum viveret, apud eruditos existimatio, ut me rem iis pergratam facturum arbitrer, si filium, sui acuminis ac solertiæ hæredem, ipsum reliquisse palam faciam. Fatendum quidem est, patruum tuum, virum doctrina juxta ac humanitate insigni, tale aliquid jam

[1] Samuel Molyneux, to whom the *Miscellanea Mathematica* are addressed, was a son of the William Molyneux (the friend and correspondent of Locke) by whom Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding* was introduced to Trinity College soon after its first publication. Cf. *New Theory of Vision*, 'Editor's Preface,' and sect. 132. The younger Molyneux was born in 1689, at Chester, where his family had retreated for a time from the tyranny of Lord Tyrconnel's government. He was trained by his father with great care, according to the method of Locke's tract on *Education*, and afterwards, when his father died (in October, 1698), by his uncle Dr. Thomas Molyneux. Samuel Molyneux was Berkeley's pupil at Trinity College, Dublin. In the early part of his public life he was secretary at Hanover to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II. He introduced his former tutor to the Prince, and to the Princess, afterwards Queen Caroline. Mr. Molyneux lived much at Kew. He was a proficient in optics and astronomy. He died in 1728. The interesting correspondence of the elder Molyneux, and also of the uncle, with Locke, between July 1692 and January 1699, may be read in connexion with the introduction of the Lockian philosophy and Newtonian science into Dublin. (See Locke's *Works*, vol. IX. pp. 289-472.)

pridem fecisse[1]. Viderat nimirum vir clarissimus, eam esse tui necdum adolescentis indolem, ut te olim paterna pressurum vestigia verisimile judicaret. Cujus tanti viri auctoritas apud me usque eo valuit, ut deinceps magnam de te spem conceperim. Nunc autem, cum ipse studiorum tuorum conscius, te saniori philosophiæ et mathesi operam strenue navantem cernam; quum spinas quibus obsepta videtur mathesis, quæque alios quamplurimos ab ejus studio deterrere solent, te e contra ad alacrius pergendum stimulare; quum denique ad industriam illam et sciendi ardorem præclaram ingenii vim sentiam accedere; exundantem nequeo cohibere lætitiam quin in orbem literatum effluat, teque ex præcipuis (si modo Deus vitam largiatur et salutem) ineuntis sæculi ornamentis fore, certissimo sane augurio prænuntiem. Proinde, sequentibus quantuliscunque ad te delatis, ansam hancce tecum publice colloquendi arripere gestiebam; cum ut ipse proprio cedam affectui, tum ut tu, expectatione de te coorta, tanquam vinculo quodam, alioqui non ingrato, ille rerum pulcherrimarum studio devinciare.

[1] [Vide epistolam Thomæ Molyneux, M.D. ad Episcopum Cloghe-rensem. *Philosoph. Transact.* No. 282.]—Author.

Thomas Molyneux, younger brother of William, was Professor of Medicine in the University of Dublin, and Physician-General to the Army. He attained repute, and was made a baronet in 1730. He died in 1733. (See *Philosoph. Transact.* No. 282.)

MISCELLANEA MATHEMATICA[1]

DE RADICIBUS SURDIS[2]

Id mihi olim in mentem venit, ut putarem praxin algebraicam factum iri nonnihil faciliorem, si ablegato signo radicali, alia quæpiam excogitaretur potestatum imperfectarum radices computandi methodus, quæ ab usitata in reliquis operationum forma minus abhorreret. Nimirum, quemadmodum in arithmetica longe facilius tractantur fractiones a vulgaribus ad decimales reductæ, quia tunc notæ cujusque loco nominatoris vicem obeunte, altera sui parte truncantur, similique forma ac integri descriptæ, eandemque cum iis seriem constituentes, iisdem itidem legibus subjiciuntur; sic si ex logistica etiam speciosa ablegaretur nota ista radicalis [$\surd$] quæ, ut nominator inter fractiones et integros, operationum diversitatem inter radices surdas ac rationales inducit, praxis proculdubio minus intricata evaderet.

Quidni itaque radices quascunque surdas, perinde ac rationales, per nudas duntaxat literas designemus, v. g. pro $\surd b$ substituto c vel d? Quippe surdis ad hunc modum designatis, nihil interereit inter eas ac potestatum perfec-

[1] These *Miscellanea*, published along with the *Arithmetica* in 1707, contain some ingenious operations in Algebra, as well as a speculation on the cause of the Atmospheric Tide. They conclude with an ardent persuasive to the study of Mathematics, especially Algebra, to which Berkeley was then enthusiastically devoted. He adduces (pp. 61-2) Sir William Temple, Bacon, Des Cartes, Malebranche, and Locke as authorities in favour of mathematics, in particular algebra, as a mental discipline; and he ends by lamenting that other studies, dry and jejune, were then superseding mathematics, to which he hoped soon to return.

[2] The suggestion with which this essay on Surds commences has not met with favour.

tarum radices; additio, subductio, multiplicatio, &c. ad eundem modum utrobique peragentur. Sed objicere in promptu est, vel magis quam signum radicale, species hac ratione multiplicatas calculum divexare. Siquidem cum nulla sit affinitas seu connexio inter b et c, adeoque una ex altera agnosci nequeat, videtur illius radix aptius designari per $\surd b$, cujus statim ac cernitur innotescit significatio. *Respondeo*, huic malo mederi posse, si v. g. Græcum alphabetum ad designandas radices introducamus, scribendo β pro $\surd b$, δ pro $\surd d$, &c. Quo pacto non tam ipsæ literæ quam characteres variabuntur, et nota quævis substituta in tantum referet primitivam, ut scrupulo non sit locus.

Quantitatis ex aliarum multiplicatione aut divisione conflatæ radix designabitur per earundem radices similiter multiplicatas seu divisas. E. g.

$$\surd bc = \beta\kappa, \text{ et } \sqrt{\frac{bdm}{e}} = \frac{\beta\delta\mu}{\epsilon}.$$

Si vero proponatur quantitas multinomia, seu constans ex pluribus membris (in quibus nulla sit quantitas ignota) signis + aut − inter se connexis; designetur horum aggregatum (quod et alias quidem sæpe fit) per unicam aliquam literam. E. g. fiat $a+b-c=g$ cujus radix est γ.

Quæris autem quid fiat ubi ignotæ quantitates notis connectantur; sit v. g. potestas imperfecta $f+x$: nam si utamur ϕ et ξ partium nempe potestatis radicibus, ex iis nequit determinari radix totius? Quidni igitur exæquemus potestatem datam imperfectam alteri cuidam perfectæ, viz. $f+x=ff+2f\xi+\xi\xi$, vel $fff+3ff\xi+3f\xi\xi+\xi\xi\xi$, &c.? Tunc enim erit $f+\xi=\sqrt[2]{f+x}$ vel $\sqrt[3]{f+x}$, &c.

Sed illud prætermissum est, qua ratione radicis genus dignoscatur; utrum scilicet sit quadratica, aut cubica, aut biquadratica. Num itaque quadraticis linquendi sunt characteres Græci, reliquisque deinceps alii itidem assignandi? An potius manente eodem charactere, puncto supra notato radicem quadratam, binis cubicam, tribus biquadraticam, atque ita porro indigitemus: e. g. $\dot{a}$ significet radicem quadraticam quantitatis per a designatæ, $\ddot{a}$ radicem cubicam, $\dddot{a}$ biquadraticam, &c.? quo quidem modo fluxiones primæ, secundæ, tertiæ, &c. designantur.

Seu denique id satis ducamus quod per retrogressum innotescat radicis denominatio? Quippe inter operandum nihil interest cujus generis sit radix aliqua, quandoquidem omnes absque signo radicali notatæ, iisdem subsint legibus, et ad eundem modum tractentur.

Cruda quidem sunt hæc et imperfecta, quamque nullius sint pretii ut a me proponuntur, sat cerno. Tu autem, *clarissime adolescens*, cui nec otium deest nec ingenium, ex hocce sterquilinio boni aliquid fortasse extraxeris. Cæterum haud scio, an ea quæ disseruimus tyronibus (reliquos ista flocci facturos scio) quadantenus usui esse possint; eorumque ope disquisitionis analyticæ filum nonnunquam enodetur eliminatis, cum ipso signo radicali, operationibus quæ illud comitantur heterogeneis. Utut id sit, mihi visus sum iis ex parte adhibitis, vulgarem *de surdis* doctrinam, brevius et clarius quam ab ullo quod sciam factum est, posse explicare. Proinde rem ipsam aggredior.

Radices surdæ dicuntur esse commensurabiles, cum earum ad invicem ratio per numeros rationales exprimi possit; quod si fieri nequeat, incommensurabiles appellantur. Porro si propositis duabus radicibus surdis, quærere oporteat, utrum sint commensurabiles necne; inveniatur exponens rationis existentis inter potestates quibus præfigitur signum radicale: hic si sit potestas perfecta, habens eundem indicem ac radices propositæ, erunt illæ commensurabiles: sin minus, incommensurabiles censendæ sunt. E. g. Sint radices propositæ $\sqrt[2]{24}$ et $\sqrt[2]{54}$. $\frac{4}{9}$ fractio quadrata exponit rationem potestatis unius 24 ad alteram 54; adeoque radices sunt commensurabiles, viz. $\sqrt[3]{24} : \sqrt[3]{54} :: 2 : 3$. Proponatur denuo $\sqrt[3]{320}$ et $\sqrt[3]{135}$: ratio numeri 320 ad 135 exponitur per $\frac{64}{27}$, cubum nempe perfectum, cujus radix $\frac{4}{3}$ indicat rationem radicis unius $\sqrt[3]{320}$ ad reliquam $\sqrt[3]{125}$. Demonstratio manifesta est, siquidem norunt omnes radices quadratas esse in ratione subduplicata, cubica in subtriplicata, biquadraticas in subquadruplicata, et sic deinceps potestatum respectivarum.

Quod si radices sint heterogeneæ quarum exploranda est ratio, ad idem genus reducantur, involvendo numeros signo radicali affixos, singulos juxta indicem radicis

alterius ; quibus sic involutis præfigenda erit nota radicalis cum indice ex indicibus primo datis in se mutuo ductis conflato. E. g. Sint radices surdæ heterogeneæ $\sqrt[2]{5}$ et $\sqrt[3]{11}$. Cubatis 5, et quadratis 11, proveniunt 125 et 121 : his præfixum signum radicale cum indice 6 præstat radices homogeneas $\sqrt[6]{125}$ et $\sqrt[6]{121}$. Hujus operationis ut cernatur ratio, designemus $\sqrt[2]{5}$ per speciem quamvis simplicem, puta b, et $\sqrt[3]{11}$ per c; eritque $\sqrt[2]{bb} = \sqrt[2]{5}$, et $\sqrt[3]{ccc} = \sqrt[3]{11}$, et $\sqrt[6]{bbbbbb} = \sqrt[6]{125}$, et $\sqrt[6]{cccccc} = \sqrt[6]{121}$. Ubi porro patet quod $\sqrt[6]{bbbbbb} = \sqrt[2]{bb}$ et $\sqrt[6]{cccccc} = \sqrt[3]{ccc}$.

Additionem quod attinet radicum surdarum, illa, si sint commensurabiles, fit præfigendo summam terminorum rationis signo radicali, cui suffigendus est communis divisor cujus ope dictæ rationis termini innotuerunt. E. g. $\sqrt[2]{24} + \sqrt[2]{54} = 5\sqrt[2]{6}$. Nam ex antedictis, et iis quæ sequuntur de multiplicatione,

$$\sqrt[2]{24} = 2\sqrt[2]{6}, \text{ et } \sqrt[2]{54} = 3\sqrt[2]{6}.$$

Ad eundem modum fit subductio, nisi quod differentia terminorum exponentis signo radicali præfigatur. Si addendæ sunt aut subducendæ radices surdæ incommensurabiles, mediantibus signis + aut — connectantur. E. g. $\sqrt{6} + \sqrt{3}$ et $\sqrt{6} - \sqrt{3}$ sunt summa et differentia radicum numerorum 6 et 3 ; quo quidem modo surdis adduntur aut subducuntur etiam numeri rationales.

Si radix surda per aliam homogeneam multiplicanda sit; rectangulo potestatum præponatur nota radicalis, simulque index communis. E. g.

$$\sqrt[2]{3} \times \sqrt[2]{7} = \sqrt[2]{21} \text{ et } \sqrt[3]{g} \times \sqrt[3]{x} = \sqrt[3]{gx}.$$

Ad cujus praxeos demonstrationem, designentur radices numerorum 3 et 7 per b et d, ut sit $bb = 3$ et $dd = 7$, et liquido constabit, quod $\sqrt[2]{bb\,dd} = bd$, i. e. radix quadrata producti æquatur producto radicum quadratarum. Idem ad eundem modum ostendi potest de aliis quibuscunque radicibus, cubicis, biquadraticis, &c. Radices heterogeneæ, priusquam multiplicentur, ad homogeneas re-

ducendæ sunt. Si numerus rationalis in surdum ducendus sit, elevetur ille ad potestatem datæ imperfectæ cognominem, cui præfigatur nota radicalis, unaque ejusdem potestatis index. Cætera ut prius. E. g.

$$5 \times \sqrt[3]{4} = \sqrt[3]{125} \times \sqrt[3]{4} = \sqrt[3]{500}.$$

Vel brevius sic, $5\sqrt[3]{4}$; et generaliter

$$b \times \sqrt[a]{c} = \sqrt[a]{b^a c} \text{ vel } b\sqrt[a]{c}.$$

Divisionem quod attinet, quoties dividendus et divisor sunt ambo radices surdæ, ablata (si qua sit) heterogeneitate, nota radicalis cum proprio indice quotienti potestatum præfixa, quotum quæsitum exhibebit. E. g.

$$\sqrt[2]{7} \div \sqrt[2]{3} = \sqrt[2]{\tfrac{7}{3}} = \sqrt[2]{2\tfrac{1}{3}}.$$

Si vero ex duobus alteruter duntaxat numerus seu species signo radicali afficitur; reliquus, juxta indicem radicis datæ involutus, notæ radicali suffigatur: deinde ut prius. E. g.

$$\sqrt[3]{96} \div 4 = \sqrt[3]{96} \div \sqrt[3]{64} = \sqrt[3]{\tfrac{96}{64}} = \sqrt[3]{\tfrac{3}{2}}.$$

Vel sine præparatione $\frac{\sqrt[3]{96}}{4}$. Et generaliter

$$\sqrt[a]{c} \div b = \sqrt[a]{\frac{c}{b^a}} \text{ vel } \frac{\sqrt[a]{c}}{b}.$$

Hæc, velut præcedentia, facillime demonstrantur.

DE ÆSTU AERIS[1]

Non ita pridem incidi in librum cui titulus, *De Imperio Solis et Lunæ in Corpora humana*, authore viro cl. M.D. et S.R.S[2]. Qui sane quantus sit, et quantulus sim ipse, non

[1] This on the Atmospheric Tide exposes some absurd errors, but it is hard to see its value otherwise. To the mathematician it seems to involve a deficient appreciation of what constitutes mathematical proof.

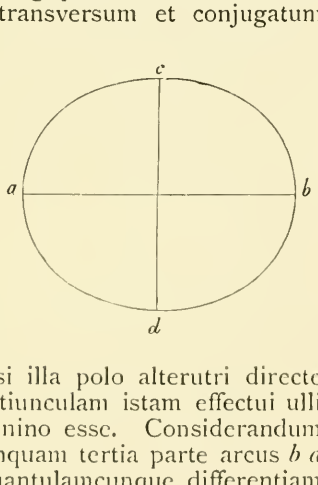
[2] The author of this book was Dr. Richard Mead, born 1673, an eminent London physician, author of works in medicine and natural philosophy. His book *De Imperio Solis et Lunæ* was first published in London in 1704, and editions afterwards appeared in Leyden, Naples, Amsterdam, and Frankfort. It was translated into English in 1708.

ignoro. Sed ut libere dicam quod sentio, sententiam ejus *De Æstu Aeris*, quam ibidem explicatam dat, utpote celeberrimi Newtoni principiis innixam, ambabus ulnis amplexus sum. Verumtamen haud scio, an author ingeniosus phænomenon quorundam isthuc pertinentium causas tam recte assecutus sit. Quam vero justa sit dubitandi ratio, tu, cujus perspectum habeo acumen, optime judicabis.

Tribuit vir cl. altiorem aeris circa æquinoctia tumorem figuræ sphæroidali terræ : differentiam insuper inter aeris intumescentiam, quæ a luna meridionali, et illam quæ a luna (ut ita loquar) antimeridionali in sphæra obliqua excitatur, eidem causæ acceptam refert. Ego vero neutrius istorum phænomenon explicationem ab oblata sphæroide petendam duco. Propterea quod, primo, quamvis sententia quæ massam aereo-terrestrem ea esse figura contendit, rationibus tam physicis quam mathematicis comprobetur, et nonnullis item phænomenis pulchre respondeat ; non tamen apud omnes usque adeo obtinet, ut nulli veteris, vel etiam oppositæ sententiæ fautores, iique non minimæ notæ viri, hodie reperiantur. Et sane memini, D. Chardellou, astronomiæ peritissimum, abhinc plus minus sesquianno, mihi indicasse, sibi ex observationibus astronomicis axem terræ diametro æquatoris compertum esse longiorem : adeoque terram esse quidem sphæroidem, sed qualem vult Burnetius [1], ad polos assurgentem, prope æquatorem vero humiliorem. Attamen quod ad me attinet, mallem quidem viri clarissimi observationes potius in dubium vocare, quam argumentis quæ terram esse oblatam demonstrant obviam ire. Nihilominus, quoniam sententia ista non omnibus æque arridet, illam tanquam principium ad phænomenon ullum explicandum adhiberi nollem, nisi res aliter commode explicari nequeat. Sed secundo, tantum

[1] This reference is to the curious book by Thomas Burnet (1635–1715), entitled, *Telluris Theoria Sacra : orbis nostri originem, et mutationes generales quas aut jam subit, aut olim subiturus est, complectens.* London, 1681. It contains ingenious speculations, unsustained by geological facts. The opinion referred to is thus stated : 'Manifestum est partes polares altiores fuisse æquinoctialibus, sive remotiores a centro : unde aquæ ceciderunt versus polos, in medias terræ partes defluere debuerunt, et totam fere telluris superficiem irrigare.' (Lib. II. cap. 5.) Burnet replied in defence of his theory. He also wrote *Remarks* on Locke's *Essay*, in series of tracts (1697–1699), afterwards collected.

abest quod supradictorum effectuum explicatio sphæroidalem terræ figuram necessario poscat, ut vix ullam inde lucis particulam mutuari videatur: id quod, appositis quæ in hanc rem scribit vir clarissimus, ostendere conabor. 'Altius (inquit) solito se attollit aer circa duo æquinoctia, quoniam cum æquinoctialis linea illi globi terrestris circulo adversa respondeat qui diametrum habet maximam, utrumque sidus dum in illa versatur terræ est vicinius.' *De Imp. Sol. et Lun.* p. 9. Jam vero, utrum vicinior iste luminarium situs par sit attollendo aeri in cumulum solito sensibiliter altiorem, merito ambigi potest. Etenim tantilla est differentia inter axem transversum et conjugatum ellipseos, cujus volutione gignitur sphærois terrestris, ut illa ad sphæram quamproxime accedat. Verum ut accuratius rem prosequamur, designet *a c b d* sectionem per polos massæ aereo-terrestris, in qua sit *d c* axis *a b* diameter æquatoris. Jam inito calculo, deprehendi vim lunæ attractricem in *b* vel *a* non esse $\frac{1}{4000}$ sui parte fortiorem quam foret in *c* vel *d*, si illa polo alterutri directe immineret, et proinde differentiunculam istam effectui ulli sensibili edendo imparem omnino esse. Considerandum etiam, lunam ab æquatore nunquam tertia parte arcus *b d* distare, dictamque proinde quantulamcunque differentiam adhuc valde minuendam esse. Quod autem de luna diximus, id de sole, cum multis vicibus longius absit, adhuc magis constabit.



Verum quidem est D. Mead alias insuper causas æstus prope æquinoctia altioris attulisse; viz. 'agitationem fluidi sphæroidis in majori orbe se revolventis majorem, præterea vim centrifugam effectum habentem eo loci longe maximum.' Quod ad primam, etsi illa prima fronte nonnihil præ se ferre visa sit, fatendum tamen est, me non omnino percipere, quomodo aliquid inde ad distinctam rei propositæ explicationem faciens colligi possit. Quod ad secundam, constat sane vim centrifugam prope æquatorem

esse longe maximam, et propterea massam aereo-terrestrem figuram oblatæ sphæroidis induisse: quid vero aliud hinc sequatur non intelligo.

Verum etiamsi concedamus aerem, propter causas a clarissimo viro allatas, circa æquinoctia ad æquatorem supra modum tumefieri; non tamen inde apparet, quamobrem apud nos, qui tam procul ab æquatore degimus, tum temporis altius solito attollatur: quinimo contrarium sequi videtur. Sequenti pagina sic scribit D. Mead[1]. 'Ut finem tandem faciam, in iisdem parallelis ubi lunæ declinatio est, illum cœli polum versus qui altissimus insurgit, validissima est attractio, cum illa ad ejus loci meridianum verticem accedit, minima vero, ubi pervenit ad meridianum loci oppositi; quod contra contingit in parallelis his adversis. Causa est in sphæroide terræ ætherisque figura.' Ergo vero causam non esse in terræ et ambientis ætheris figura propterea puto, quod posita terra vel perfecte spherica, vel etiam oblonga, idem certe eveniret, uti infra patebit.

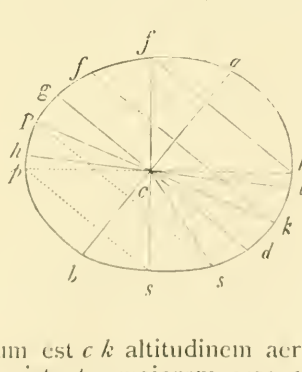
Restat ut harum rerum explicationem ipse aggrediar, siquidem eo præsertim nomine suspecta mihi fuit ratio a sphæroidali terræ figura deducta, quod, nulla ipsius habita ratione, res tota clarissime simul ac facillime exponi posse videbatur.

Newtonus, Operis sui Physico-Mathematici, lib. iii. prop. 24. ubi æstuum marinorum phenomena explicat, hæc habet: 'Pendet etiam effectus utriusque luminaris ex ipsius declinatione seu distantia ab æquatore. Nam si luminare in polo constitueretur, traheret illud singulas aquæ partes constanter, absque actionis intensione et remissione, adeoque nullam motus reciprocationem cieret. Igitur luminaria recedendo ab æquatore polum versus effectus suos gradatim amittent, et propterea minores ciebunt æstus in syzygiis solstitialibus quam in æquinoctialibus.' Atqui non alia causa videtur quærenda ullius phænomeni æstus aerei, quam quæ ad similem effectum in æstu marino excitandum sufficiat. Sed ut id quod a viro per totum orbem longe celeberrimo breviter adeoque subobscure traditum est, uberius exponam; sit in priore figura *a d c b*

[1] Mead, *De Imperio Solis et Lunæ*, p. 7.

meridianus, et *a b* axis massæ aereoterrestris; sol autem et luna in polo constitui concipiantur. Manifestum est, quamvis massæ aereæ partem, puta *d*, durante circumvolutione diurna, eandem semper distantiam a luminaribus tueri, adeoque vi ubique æquali in eorum corpora trahi. Proinde aer non uno tempore attollitur, alio deprimitur, sed per totum diem in eadem hæret altitudine. Verum secundo, in eadem figura repræsentet *a c b d* æquatorem aut parallelum quemvis, luminaria interim in plano æquinoctiali existant; quo tempore manifestum est, tum ipsum æquatorem, tum singulos parallelos, ellipticam induere figuram. Manifestum etiam est, aerem qui nunc *a*, apicem axis transversi, obtinet, adeoque altissimus insurgit, post sex horas, *c*, extremum axis conjugati, ubi humillimus deprimetur, occupaturum, maximamque proinde motus reciprocationem cieri. Ut igitur rem omnem simul absolvam, gibbos sphæroidis æstuosæ triplici ratione locari concipiamus; vel in polis, vel in æquatore, vel in locis intermediis. In primo casu, esset planum rotationis diurnæ ad axem sphæroidis perpendiculare, adeoque circulus; unde nullus foret æstus: in secundo, esset ad eundem parallelum, adeoque ellipsis, inter cujus axes maxima sit differentia; unde maximi forent æstus: in tertio, quo magis ad situm perpendicularem accederet, eo circulo vicinius esset, adeoque minores forent æstus.

Reliquum est ut demonstrem, differentiam quæ est in sphæra obliqua inter æstum quemvis et subsequentem, ubi luna extra æquatorem vagatur, terra posita vel oblata, vel ad amussim sphærica, vel etiam oblonga, perinde causatum iri. Sit *a b* axis mundi, *g d* æquator, *k* locus quivis, *f k* loci parallelus, *h l* axis sphæroidis æstuosæ ob actionem, potissimum, lunæ utrinque tumentis. Luna autem prope *l* constituatur. Demonstrandum est *c k* altitudinem aeris, luna prope loci meridianum existente, majorem esse *c f*, aeris altitudine, ubi luna meridianum loci oppositi trans-



ierit. Ducatur $p\,s$ parallelus priori ex adverso respondens, et producantur $c\,k$, $c\,f$ ad p et s. Per constructionem arcus $p\,h$ æqualis est arcui $k\,l$; ergo arcus $f\,h$ major est arcu $k\,l$; ergo propter ellipsin recta $f\,s$ minor est recta $k\,p$, et $f\,c$ minor $k.\ c.\ Q.\ e.\ d.$

DE CONO ÆQUILATERO ET CYLINDRO, EIDEM SPHÆRÆ CIRCUMSCRIPTIS[1]

LEMMA

Latus trianguli æquilateri est ad diametrum inscripti circuli, ut $\sqrt{3}$ ad 1; et perpendicularis ex angulo quovis ad latus oppositum demissa, est ad eandem, ut 3 ad 2.

Hæc cuivis, algebram et geometriam utcunque callenti, facile constabunt.

PROBLEMA

Invenire rationem quæ existit inter Cylindrum et Conum æquilaterum eidem Sphæræ circumscriptos.

Ponamus diametrum et peripheriam basis cylindri esse singulas unitatem. Eruntque, per lemma, diameter basis coni ejusdemque peripheria singulæ $\sqrt{3}$. Proinde $1 \times \frac{1}{4} = \frac{1}{4}$ = bas. cylindri; et $\frac{1}{2}$ = summæ basium. Et $\sqrt{3} \times \frac{1}{4}\sqrt{3} = \frac{3}{4}$ = bas. coni, et superficies cylindri seu quadruplum baseos = 1. Et superficies simplex coni $= \frac{3}{2} = \frac{\sqrt{6}}{4} \times \sqrt{6}$. Nam $\sqrt{\frac{3}{2}}$ (h. e. media proportionalis inter $\sqrt{3}$ latus coni, et basis radium seu $\sqrt{\frac{3}{4}}$) est radius circuli æqualis superficiei conicæ. Et per præcedentia $1 + \frac{1}{2} = \frac{3}{2}$ = sup. tot. cylindri, et $\frac{3}{2} + \frac{3}{4} = \frac{9}{4}$ = sup. tot. coni. Porro per hypothesin et lemma, axis cylindri est 1, et coni $\frac{3}{2}$. Soliditas autem cylindri $= \frac{1}{4} \times 1 = \frac{1}{4}$, et soliditas coni $= \frac{3}{4} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{3}{8}$. Hinc, comparatis inter se homogeneis, eruitur sequens

[1] This theorem of the Equilateral Cone and Cylinder is at best an ingenious conceit.

THEOREMA

Inter Conum æquilaterum et Cylindrum eidem Sphæræ circumscriptos, eadem obtinet ratio sesquialtera, quoad superficies totas, superficies simplices, soliditates, altitudines, et bases.

Duobus abhinc annis[1] Theorema illud non sine admiratione aliqua inveni. Nec tamen propriam ingenii vim aut sagacitatem ullam, quippe in re tam facili, sed quod Tacquetus[2], notissimus matheseos Professor, tantopere gloriatus sit, de invento cui impar non sit tyro, id demum admiratus sum. Nempe is invenerat partem aliquam Theorematis præfati, viz. quod 'conus æquilaterus sit cylindri, eidem sphæræ circumscripti, soliditate et superficie tota sesquialter; quodque adeo continuata esset ratio' inter conum æquilaterum, cylindrum, et sphæram. Hæc est ipsa illa propositio, ad quam spectat schema, quod præfati authoris tractatus *De Theorematis ex Archimede selectis*, in ipsa fronte, una cum epigraphe inscriptum præfert. Quin etiam videas quæ dicat Jesuita[3] in præfatione, in scholio ad prop. 32, et sub finem propositionis 44^tæ^ ejusdem tractatus. Ubi Theorema hocce tanquam illustre aliquod inventum, et Archimedæorum æmulum ostentat. Idem quod Tacquetus, etiam Cl. Wallisius[4] in additionibus et emendationibus ad cap. lxxxi. algebræ suæ, a D. Caswello[5] ope Arithmetices Infinitorum demonstratum exhibet. Quod ipsum, quoad alteram ejus partem, facit D. Dechales[6] in libro suo de Indivisibilium Methodo, prop. 20. Sed tam ipsa indivisibilium methodus, quam quæ in ea fundatur arithmetica infinitorum, a nonnullis minus Geometricæ censentur.

Integrum autem Theorema a nemine, quod sciam,

[1] i. e. in 1705.

[2] Cf. p. 5.

[3] i. e. Tacquet.

[4] Wallis, the eminent mathematician and logician, died in 1703.

[5] John Caswell, an Oxford mathematician, author of *A Brief Account of the Doctrine of Trigonometry* (1689 and other works.

[6] Des Chales, a native of Chambery in Savoy, was professor of mathematics in Clermont, and afterwards in Turin. His edition of Euclid was long a popular textbook. His works were published at Lyons, in four folios, under the title of *Mundus Mathematicus*. He died in 1678.

antehac demonstratum fuit. Attamen si verum est quod opinatur Tacquetus: 'Idcirco Archimedi inter alia tam multa et præclara inventa, illud quo cylindrum inscriptæ sphæræ soliditate et superficie sesquialterum esse demonstrat, præ reliquis placuisse: quod corporum, et superficierum corpora ipsa continentium, eadem esset atque una rationalis proportio:' si, inquam, hoc in causa fuit, cur is cylindrum sphæræ circumscriptum tumulo insculptum voluit; quid tandem faceret senex ille Siculus, si unam eandemque rationalem proportionem bina corpora quintuplici respectu intercedere deprehendisset? Illud tamen quam facile ex ejus inventis profluat, modo vidimus.

[[1] Simili fere methodo ac nos illud omnia Tacqueti Theoremata Archimedæis subjuncta, adde et centum istiusmodi alia si cui operæ pretium videbitur, difficile erit invenire et demonstrare.]

DE LUDO ALGEBRAICO[2]

Sub idem tempus quo Theorema illud, Ludum etiam Algebraicum inveni. Quippe cum vidissem e familiaribus meis nonnullos, per dimidios ferme dies, Scacchorum[3] ludo gnaviter incumbentes, acre eorum studium in re nihili admiratus, rogavi quidnam esset quod tantopere laborarent? Illi porro pergratum animi exercitium renuntiant. Hoc ego mecum reputans, mirabar quamobrem tam pauci ad mathesin, utilissimam sane scientiam eandemque jucundissimam, animum applicarent. An quod difficilis sit? Sed multi et ingenio valent, nec laborem in nugis fastidiunt ullum. An potius, quod gratissimum animi exercitium non sit? Sed quænam, quæso, est illa ars, aut disciplina, aut

[1] This sentence is not contained in the 1707 edition.

[2] This Algebraic Game, proposed as more useful than Chess, and at the same time a pleasing exercise in Algebra, is characteristic of Berkeley. Portions of what follows, especially the formulæ for combinations which the conditions of the Game admit of, contained in the Appendix, are in his *Commonplace Book*. The Game itself is a sort of lottery in equations. It is worth little, save as showing the bent of Berkeley's mind towards the practical side even of a game of chance. In reading it, he supposes himself, like a spider, in the centre of the *Tabula*.

[3] Chess.

quodcunque demum opus, quod omnem animi facultatem, solertiam, acumen, sagacitatem pulchrius exerceat? Sed ludus est mathesis? Nihilo secius jucunda: eo tamen si venisset nomine, tunc forsan lepidi isti homunciones, qui tempus ludendo terunt, ad ejus studium se protinus accingerent. Subiit adhæc sapientissimi viri Johannis Lockii[1], in re non multum absimili, consilium. Sequentem proinde lusum ad praxin algebræ exercendam, rudi fateor Minerva, excogitavi, sed qualis adolescenti, aliis præsertim studiis occupato, facile spero condonabitur.

Problemata algebraica immediate constituunt æquationes datæ, quæ in quæstionibus determinatis quantitates quæsitas numero exæquant. Quælibet autem æquatio duobus constat membris æqualitatis signo connexis, in quorum utroque considerandæ veniunt; primo, species, utrum scilicet quantitates datas aut quæsitas designent; deinde, signa quibus connectuntur. Efficere itaque ut hæc omnia ad constituendas quæstiones sorte obveniant, ludumque tam ex quæstionum formatione, quam ex earundem resolutione, concinnare operam damus.

In asserculo, qualis ad dominarum aut scacchorum lusum vulgo adhiberi solet, depingatur circulus quadrato inscriptus, reliquaque omnia quæ in apposito Schemate[2] continentur; nisi quod loco circellorum nigrantium facienda sint foramina. Quibus peractis, habebimus Tabulam lusoriam. Parandus insuper est stylus tenuis e ligno, qui alicui ex dictis foraminibus infigatur. Reliquum est ut horum usum exponamus.

Ut vides, operationum logisticarum Symbola ad latera et angulos Quadrati scribuntur: porro latera prioribus, anguli vero posterioribus, æquationum membris signa impertiunt. Circulus autem inscriptus a sedecim cuspidibus in totidem partes æquales dispescitur, ita ut tres cuspides ad latus et angulum quemvis spectent, sed aliæ directe, aliæ oblique: quæ oblique latus aliquod aut angulum respiciunt, eæ angulo et lateri communes sunt; quæ vero directe latus aliquod intuentur, eæ ad angulum nullum pertinent, sed ad utrosque adjacentes pariter referuntur. Et vicissim, quæ angulum aliquem directe

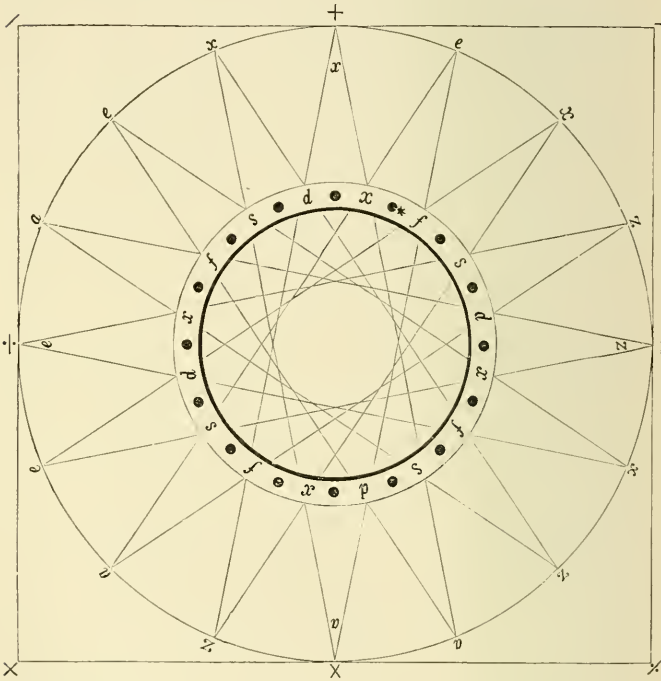
[1] See Locke's *Essay on the Conduct of the Understanding*, § 7.

[2] In the original edition, the *Tabula Lusoria* occupies an enlarged page, which faces this section.

intuentur, eæ ad latus nullum pertinent, sed ad utraque adjacentia pariter referri censendæ sunt.

In formanda itaque quæstione, primo observanda est cuspis quam stylus respicit, latusque et angulum ad quos pertineat; horum signa notentur, quippe quæ, ut diximus,

TABULA LUSORIA.



species utriusque cujuslibet æquationis membri connectent. Dein, stylo literæ ad prædictam cuspidem scriptæ imposito, numera 1, eoque inde juxta rectæ lineæ ductum translato (ut faciunt astrologi, nominum quibus feriæ appellantur rationem assignantes) ad literam oppositam, numera 2. Tunc ad alteram lineæ, tanquam continuata esset per annulum intermedium extremitatem pergens, numera 3;

et sic deinceps, donec litera primæ cuspidi adjacens recurrat. Hinc recta descendens ad cuspidem in convexitate interioris circuli terminatam, foramini alterutro adjacenti infige stylum.

Numerus ultimo numeratus indicabit, quot quantitates quæsitæ, vel (quod idem est) quot æquationes datæ fuerint in quæstione. Harum membra priora quantitates ignotæ alternatim sumptæ et signo laterali connexæ, posteriora quantitates cognitæ vel incognitæ (prout determinarit litera ad cuspidem internam scripta) quæsitis signo angulari alligatæ, constituent. Porro *d* adhibendas quantitatum cognitarum species diversas, *s* unam solummodo, *f* figuras numerales 2, 3, 4, &c. *x* quantitates quæsitas repetendas esse indicat. Notandum autem, in cujusque æquationis membro posteriore non alias poni quantitates ignotas, quam quæ in primo membro sequentis æquationis reperiantur. Dicta exemplis clarescent.

Ponamus itaque stylum occupare foramen stellula insignitum, cuspisque quam respicit pertinebit ad latus cujus signum est +, et ad angulum cujus signum est ×, quæ signa in charta noto, laterale a sinistris sive primum deinde angulare. Porro *e* ad cuspidem scribitur, ad quam numero 1; inde (liberum autem est e duabus lineis utriusvis ductum sequi) sinistrorsum pergens offendo *a*, ad quam numero 2; hinc transiens ad *z* numero 3; inde autem transversim eunti denuo obversatur *e*, litera primæ cuspidi apposita, ad quam numerans 4, recta descendo ad cuspidem interiorem litera *d* insignitam. Erunt igitur quatuor quantitates quæsitæ in quæstione, quæ signo laterali +, alternatim connexæ, constituent prima æquationum datarum membra. Posteriora vero fient ex quantitatibus ignotis et notis (propter *d*) diversis per signum angulare, nimirum ×, conjunctis; ad hunc modum:

$$\begin{array}{ll} a+e=yb & a=? \\ e+y=zc & e=? \\ y+z=ad & y=? \\ z+a=ef & z=? \end{array}$$

Quod si ponamus stylum foramini præcedenti infixum esse, quo pacto + laterale directe intuebitur, lineæque sinistræ ductum sequamur, provenient tres quantitates investigandæ, et cuspis interior habebit literam *f*. Unde

numerus æquationum datarum et primorum earundem membrorum signa, itemque posteriorum species determinantur. Sed quoniam in hoc casu cuspis indifferenter se habet respectu duorum angulorum adjacentium, idcirco eorum signa per vices usurpanda sunt: secundum quas conditiones hujusmodi struatur quæstio.

$$\begin{array}{ll} a+e=2y & a=? \\ e+y=3-a & e=? \\ y+a=4e & y=? \end{array}$$

Posito autem stylum sequenti foramini infigi, cuspis stylaris in × angulare dirigetur, signaque lateralia + et − pariter respiciet. Proinde, si fert animus dextram inire semitam, juxta leges præmissas sequens prodibit quæstio:

$$\begin{array}{ll} a+e=ey & a=? \\ e-y=ay & e=? \\ y+a=ae & y=? \end{array}$$

[1] Notandum autem primo, quod varietatem aliquam in signorum et specierum combinationibus præscriptæ leges admittant. Unde fit, quod cuspide semitaque determinatis, diversæ oriantur quæstiones.

Secundo, quod etsi ad primæ literæ recursum sistendum esse supra statuimus, lex tamen illa pro cujusvis arbitrio mutari possit; ita ut progrediamur donec singulæ, a, e, z, x, obversentur, vel aliqua ex iis bis, vel ad aliam quamcunque metam. Sed ad lusum properamus.

Primum itaque e lusoribus aliquis ad methodum jam traditam quæstionem sibi formet. Quod et cæteris deinceps iisdem legibus faciendum est. Porro formatis singulorum quæstionibus, ad ejus quæ sorte obtigit solutionem se quisque accingat. Faciat dein unusquisque fractionem, cujus numerator sit numerus quantitatum in suo problemate quæsitarum, et nominator, numerus graduum sive æquationum quas, dum solveretur quæstio, chartis mandabat. Penes quem maxima sit fractio, is vincat.

Proinde, siquando fugitivæ quantitates inhiantem eluserint algebristam, is omni victoriæ spe excidisse censendus est. Neque id prorsus injuria, siquidem potius eligentis culpa quam infortunio accidat quæstionem esse indeterminatam.

[1] [Vide Appendicem.]—Author.

[[1] Quotiescunque inter ludendum deveniatur ad æquationem affectam supra ordinem quadraticum, nihil opus erit exegesi numerosa aut constructione per parabolam, sufficit si radix incognita mutata specie pro cognita habeatur.]

Peractis omnium quæstionum solutionibus, quisque proximi opus percurrat; ad quod Pellii margines conducant.

Quæ pignora et mulctas spectant, quisquam ad libitum comminiscatur: hæc enim aliis permitto.

Problemata quod spectat, illa quidem difficilia non sunt, alioqui inepta forent ad lusum; sed ea tamen, quorum solutio in ingens lusorum commodum cesserit, dum rectum tramitem inire student, dum longos consequentiarum nexus animo recolunt, integramque analyseos seriem brevissimo conceptu claudere laborant.

Permitte jam, adolescens optime ut alios paulisper alloquar; tibi enim, quem ipsa trahit difficultas, nihil opus hortatore. Vos, adolescentes academici, compello, quibus inest sagacitas, mentisque vigor et acumen; tristem vero in musæo solitudinem, duramque eorum qui vulgo audiunt *Pumps*, vitam aversamini, satius inter congerrones, per jocum et lusum, ingenium prodere ducentes. Videtis quam merus lusus sit algebra, et sors locum habet, et scientia: quidni igitur ad tabulam lusoriam accedatis? Neque enim, quod in chartis, scacchis, dominis, &c. usu venit, ut dum alii ludunt, alii oscitanter adstent, hic etiam metuatis. Nam quotcunque ludendi incesserit libido, iis omnibus ludere simul ac studere, adde et nonnullis, lucelli aliquid corradere fas est. Ast aliquem audire mihi videor in hujusmodi verba erumpentem: Itane vero nos decipi posse putas? Non ii sumus, quos ad difficillimam artem sudore multo addiscendum, oblata lusus specie, inescare liceat. Respondeo, algebram eatenus esse difficilem quantum ad lusum requiritur: quod si tollas omnem difficultatem, tollitur simul recreatio omnis ac voluptas. Siquidem ludi omnes totidem sunt artes et scientiæ; nec aliud est inter cæteros et hunc nostrum discrimen, quam quod illi præsens solummodo oblectamentum spectent; ex hoc vero, præter jucundissimum laborem, alii etiam iique

[1] This sentence is not in the 1707 edition.

uberrimi fructus percipiantur. Tantum autem abest quod hoc in lusus detrimentum cedat, ut is idcirco omnibus numeris absolutus jure habeatur, juxta tritum illud poetæ,

'Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.'

Sed quinam sunt illi quos prædicas fructus? Hos ut enumerem, universa, quaqua patet, mathesis, artesque omnes ac scientiæ, quas rem militarem, civilem, et philosophicam promoventes complectitur, perlustrandæ forent. Quippe per hasce omnes diffunditur mirifica algebræ vis. Eadem apud omnes ars magna, mirabilis, supremus cognitionis humanæ apex, universæ matheseos nucleus et clavis, imo apud nonneminem scientiarum omnium fundamentum audit. Et sane quam difficile esset algebræ limites assignare, cum philosophiam etiam naturalem et medicinam jamdudum invasit, inque dies dissitissima quæque argumenta aggreditur. Ut alia taceam, in Actis Philosoph. No. 257, de certitudine testimoniorum et traditionum humanarum algebraica extant theoremata. Et pro certo statuendum est, ubicunque datur magis ac minus, ubicunque ratio aliqua aut proportio invenitur, ibi locum habere algebram.

Verum dixerit fortasse aliquis, se nec mathesin ipsam, nec res mathematice tractatas morari. Ut lubet: demus hoc voluntati cujuspiam, demus ignorantiæ: nimirum ex ignorantia rerum præclarissimarum, *quæque vos a barbaris distinguunt*[1], contemptum proficisci affirmare ausim. Estne vero quisquam qui ingenium sagax, intellectum capacem, judicium acre parvi faciat? Siquis usque adeo rationis expers inveniatur, is demum mathesin spernat, quæ quanti sit momenti ad optimos quosque mentis habitus comparandos, apud omnes in confesso est.

[1] [Vide *Tentamen Anglicum de Hortis Epicuri*, a Gulielmo Temple, Equite Aurato, conscriptum.]—Author. The reference to Sir William Temple is contained in the following sentence :—'More than this, I know no advantage mankind has gained by the progress of natural philosophy, during so many ages it has had vogue in the world, excepting always and very justly what we owe to the Mathematics, which is in a manner all that seems valuable among the civilised nations, more than those we call barbarians, whether they are so or no, or more so than ourselves.'—Temple's *Essay upon the Gardens of Epicurus* (1686). Cf. *Guardian*, No. 130, in which the above passage is referred to in a similar manner.

Verulamius alicubi, in iis quæ de Augmentis Scientiarum conscripsit[1], analogiam quandam inter pilæ palmariæ lusum et mathesin notat. Nempe quemadmodum per illum, ultra voluptatem quæ primum intenditur, alia eaque potiora consequamur, viz. corporis agilitatem et robur, promptumque oculorum motum: sic disciplinæ mathematicæ, præter fines ac usus singulis proprios, illud etiam collaterale habent, quod mentem a sensibus abstrahant, ingeniumque acuant et figant. Idem hoc tam olim veteres, quam hodie e modernis cordatiores quique agnoscunt. Quod vero recentiorum algebra ad ingenium formandum imprimis conducat, inter alios ostendunt Cartesius[2], et prolixe Malebranchius De Inquirenda Veritate, lib. vi. part. 1. cap. 5. et part. 2. cap. 8. alibique passim[3]. Et regulæ quidem quas hic in quæstionum solutione observandas tradit, lib. vi. part. 2. cap. 1. quæque tam sunt eximiæ, ut meliores angelum non fuisse daturum credat auctor quidam ingeniosus: illæ, inquam, regulæ angelicæ ex algebra desumi videntur. At quid alios memorem, cum vir omni laude major, Johannes Lockius, qui singulos intellectus humani defectus, eorumque remedia, siquis alius, optime callebat, cum universæ matheseos, tum præsertim algebræ studium, omnibus supra plebem positis, tanquam rem infiniti usus vehementer commendat? Vide inter Opera ejus Posthuma, pag. 30, 31, 32, &c. Tractatus de Regimine Intellectus: opus exiguum quidem

[1] The passage alluded to is contained in the *Advancement of Learning*, the earlier work (1605), and is not reproduced in the translation, in the corresponding passage of the *De Augmentis* (1623). The words are these:—'For if the wit be too dull, they (Pure Mathematics) sharpen it; if too wandering, they fix it; if too inherent in sense, they abstract it. So that as tennis is a game of no use in itself, but of great use in respect it maketh a quick eye and a body ready to put itself into all postures: so in the Mathematics, that use which is collateral and intervenient is no less worthy than that which is principal and intended.' *Advancement of Learning*, B. II. But Bacon repeats his recommendation of Mathematics, especially as an education of the power of attention, in the *De Augmentis*, VI. 4, and in the *Essay* on Studies in 1625.

[2] See *Discours de la Méthode*, pp. 143-146, in Cousin's edition of the works of Descartes. In another passage in the same work Descartes speaks rather in disparagement of Algebra.

[3] It may be added that Malebranche, in his *Recherche*, Liv. VI. p. ii. ch. 8, alludes to the commendation of Algebra in Descartes' *Discours de la Méthode*.

illud et imperfectum, sed quod vastis et elaboratis aliorum voluminibus jure quisquam prætulerit[1]. At vero auctor magni nominis ad disciplinas mathematicas acrem nimis meditationem, quæque homini generoso et voluptatibus studenti minus conveniat, requiri putat. Respondeo, suadente Lockio, frustra opponi dissidentis Santevremontii[2] judicium. Deinde hic ineptus matheseos judex merito habeatur, quippe qui, uti ex ejus vita et scriptis plusquam verisimile est, eam vix a limine salutarat. Si vero cortex durus videatur et exsuccus, quid mirum? Sed ut dicam quod res est; præstat singulos rem ipsam expertos propria sequi judicia. Nec est cur quis ingentes difficultates sibi fingat, eo quod vox algebra nescio quid asperum sonat et horrificum; artem enim, quantum ad ludum nostrum requiritur, intra breve unius mensis spatium facile quisquam perdiscat.

Exposita demum lusus et consilii nostri ratione, lectorem mathematicum, ut tenues istas studiorum meorum primitias candide accipiat, rogo, potiora forsan posthac daturus. Impræsentiarum autem me alia distinent studia quæ, arida satis et jejuna, suavissimam mathesin exceperunt. Tu interim, Clarissime Adolescens, hanc nugarum rhapsodiam, tanquam aliquod mei erga te amoris symbolum, cape, et vale.

[1] See Locke's *Essay on the Conduct of the Understanding*, § 7, here eulogised. Bacon, Descartes, Malebranche, and Locke are thus advanced in this paragraph in support of the study of Algebra and mathematics generally.

[2] Saint Evremond, a French wit of the seventeenth century, who came to England in the reign of Charles II, and died there in 1703.

APPENDIX

Ut mentem nostram quilibet plenissime assequatur, visum est sequentibus paginis omnem in quæstionibus Combinationum et Specierum varietatem quam præfatæ ludendi conditiones patiantur oculis subjicere.

Notandum autem: Primo, quod sequentes formulæ, quoad modos combinandi et quantitatum species, non item omnes quoad numerum æquationum datarum, ad Cuspides respectivas pertinent: sæpe enim plures quam tres quantitates investigandæ erunt.

Secundo, quod ut omnes quæstionum formulæ haberi possint, metæ diversæ, prout fieri posse supra monuimus, statuendæ sunt: alioqui duæ tantum ex quatuor classibus ad Cuspidem quamcunque pertinebunt.

Primam dico Cuspidem quæ in + laterale dirigitur, secundam huic a dextris proximam, atque ita porro.

AD LECTOREM

Ista adolescentiæ nostræ, obiter tantum proprioque marte ad quantulamcunque matheseos scientiam olim enitentis, conamina in lucem protrusisse sero aliquoties pœnituit. Quin et pœniteret etiamnum, nisi quod hinc nobile par Ingeniorum [1], in spem nascentis sæculi succrescentium, una propalandi enascatur occasio. Neque enim nos aliunde Rempublicam Literariam demereri gloriamur. Atque hæc quidem ad temeritatis etc. censuram, ut et invidiam, si quam mihi forte conflaverim, amoliendum dicta intelligantur.

[1] Young Palliser and young Molyneux.

Cuspis prima.

$$a+e = b\times ee-bb\times yy-be\times bb-ey\times bb-y$$
$$e+y = b-yy\times bb-aa\times by-bb\times ya-bb\times a$$
$$sy+a = b\times aa-bb\times ee-ba\times bb-ae\times bb-e$$

$$a+e = b\times ee-bb\times yy-be\times bb-ey\times bb-y$$
$$e+y = c-yy\times cc-aa\times cy-cc\times ya-cc\times a$$
$$dy+a = d\times aa-dd\times ee-da\times dd-ae\times dd-e$$

$$a+e = 2\times ee-22\times yy-2e\times 22-ey\times 22-y$$
$$e+y = 3-yy\times 33-aa\times 3y-33\times ya-33\times a$$
$$fy+a = 4\times aa-44\times ee-4a\times 44-ae\times 44-e$$

$$a+e = e\times ye-ye\times yy-e$$
$$e+y = y-ay\times aa-ya\times y$$
$$xy+a = a\times ea-ea\times ee-a$$

Cuspis secunda.

$$a+e = b\times cb\times y$$
$$e+y = b\times yb\times a$$
$$sy+a = b\times ab\times e$$

$$a+e = b\times cb\times y$$
$$e+y = c\times yc\times a$$
$$dy+a = d\times ad\times e$$

$$a+e = 2\times e2\times y$$
$$e+y = 3\times y3\times a$$
$$fy+a = 4\times a4\times e$$

$$a+e = e\times y$$
$$e+y = y\times a$$
$$xy+a = a\times e$$

Cuspis tertia.

$$a+ea-e = e\times by\times b$$
$$se-ye+y = y\times ba\times b$$
$$y+ay-a = a\times be\times b$$

$$a+e\,a-e = e\times b\,y\times b$$
$$d\,e-y\,e+y = y\times c\,a\times c$$
$$y+a\,y-a = a\times d\,e\times d$$

$$a+e\,a-e = e\times 2\,y\times 2$$
$$f\,e-y\,e+y = y\times 3\,a\times 3$$
$$y+a\,y-a = a\times 4\,e\times 4$$

$$a+e\,a-e = e\times y$$
$$x\,e-y\,e+y = y\times a$$
$$y+a\,y-a = a\times e$$

Cuspis quarta.

$$a-e = b\times e\,b\times y$$
$$s\,e-y = b\times y\,b\times a$$
$$y-a = b\times a\,b\times e$$

$$a-e = b\times e\,b\times y$$
$$d\,e-y = c\times y\,c\times a$$
$$y-a = d\times a\,d\times e$$

$$a-e = 2\times e\,2\times y$$
$$f\,e-y = 3\times y\,3\times a$$
$$y-a = 4\times a\,4\times e$$

$$a-e = e\times y$$
$$x\,e-y = y\times a$$
$$y-a = a\times e$$

Cuspis quinta.

$$a-e = e\times b\,b\div e\,y\times b\,b\div y\,b\times e\,e\div b\,b\times y\,y\div b$$
$$s\,e-y = y\div b\,b\times y\,a\div b\,b\times a\,b\div y\,y\times b\,b\div a\,a\times b$$
$$y-a = a\times b\,b\div a\,e\times b\,b\div e\,b\times a\,a\div b\,b\times e\,e\div b$$

$$a-e = e\times b\,b\div e\,y\times b\,b\div y\,b\times e\,e\div b\,b\times y\,y\div b$$
$$d\,e-y = y\div c\,c\times y\,a\div c\,c\div a\,c\div y\,y\times c\,c\div a\,a\times c$$
$$y-a = a\times d\,d\div a\,e\times d\,d\div e\,d\times a\,a\div d\,d\times e\,e\div d$$

$$a-e = e\times 2\,2\div e\,y\times 2\,2\div y\,2\times e\,e\div b\,2\times y\,y\div 2$$
$$f\,e-y = y\div 3\,3\times y\,a\div 3\,3\times a\,3\div y\,y\times c\,3\div a\,a\times 3$$
$$y-a = a\times 4\,4\div a\,e\times 4\,4\div e\,4\times a\,a\div d\,4\times e\,e\div 4$$

$a-e=e\times y\ e\div y\ e\times y\ y\div e$
$x\ e-y=y\div a\ y\times a\ a\div y\ a\times y$
$y-a=a\times e\ a\div e\ a\times e\ e\div a$

Cuspis sexta.

$a-e=b\div e\ b\div y\ e\div b\ y\div b$
$s\ e-y=b\div y\ b\div a\ y\div b\ a\div b$
$y-a=b\div a\ b\div e\ a\div b\ e\div b$

$a-e=b\div e\ b\div y\ e\div b\ y\div b$
$d\ e-y=c\div y\ c\div a\ y\div c\ a\div c$
$y-a=d\div a\ d\div e\ a\div d\ e\div d$

$a-e=2\div e\ 2\div y\ e\div 2\ y\div 2$
$f\ e-y=3\div y\ 3\div a\ y\div 3\ a\div 3$
$y-a=4\div a\ 4\div e\ a\div 4\ e\div 4$

$a-e=e\div y\ y\div e$
$x\ e-y=y\div a\ a\div y$
$y-a=a\div e\ e\div a$

Cuspis septima.

$a-e\ a\times e=e\div b\ b\div e\ y\div b\ b\div y$
$s\ e\times y\ e-y=y\div b\ b\div y\ a\div b\ b\div a$
$y-a\ y\times a=a\div b\ b\div a\ e\div b\ b\div e$

$a-e\ a\times e=e\div b\ b\div e\ y\div b\ b\div y$
$d\ e\times y\ e-y=y\div c\ c\div y\ a\div c\ c\div a$
$y-a\ y\times a=a\div d\ d\div a\ e\div d\ d\div e$

$a-e\ a\times e=e\div 2\ 2\div e\ y\div 2\ 2\div y$
$f\ e+y\ e-y=y\div 3\ 3\div y\ a\div 3\ 3\div a$
$y-a\ y\times a=a\div 4\ 4\div a\ e\div 4\ 4\div e$

$a-e\ a\times e=e\div y\ y\div e$
$x\ e\times y\ e-y=y\div a\ a\div y$
$y-a\ y\times a=a\div e\ e\div a$

Cuspis octava.

$$\begin{aligned} a \times e &= e \div b\,b \div e\,y \div b\,b \div y \\ s\,e \times y &= y \div b\,b \div y\,a \div b\,b \div a \\ y \times a &= a \div b\,b \div a\,e \div b\,b \div e \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} a \times e &= e \div b\,b \div e\,y \div b\,b \div y \\ d\,e \times y &= y \div c\,c \div y\,a \div c\,c \div a \\ y \times a &= a \div d\,d \div a\,e \div d\,d \div e \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} a \times e &= e \div 2\,2 \div e\,y \div 2\,2 \div y \\ f\,e \times y &= y \div 3\,3 \div y\,a \div 3\,3 \div a \\ y \times a &= a \div 4\,4 \div a\,e \div 4\,4 \div e \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} a \times e &= e \div y\,y \div e \\ x\,e \times y &= y \div a\,a \div y \\ y \times a &= a \div e\,e \div a \end{aligned}$$

Cuspis nona.

$$\begin{aligned} a \times e &= b + e\,e \div b\,b + y\,y \div b\,e + b\,b \div e\,y + b\,b \div y \\ s\,e \times y &= b + y\,y + b\,b \div a\,a + b\,y \div b\,b + y\,a \div b\,b + a \\ y \times a &= b + a\,a \div b\,b + e\,e \div b\,a + b\,b \div a\,e + b\,b \div e \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} a \times e &= b + e\,e \div b\,b + y\,y \div b\,e + b\,b \div e\,y + b\,b \div y \\ d\,e \times y &= c \div y\,y + c\,c \div a\,a + c\,y \div c\,c + y\,a \div c\,c + a \\ y \times a &= d + a\,a \div d\,d + e\,e \div d\,a + d\,d \div a\,e + d\,d \div e \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} a \times e &= 2 + e\,e \div 2\,2 + y\,y \div 2\,e + 2\,2 \div e\,y + 2\,2 \div y \\ f\,e \times y &= 3 \div y\,y + 3\,3 \div a\,a + 3\,y \div 3\,3 + y\,a \div 3\,3 + a \\ y \times a &= 4 + a\,a \div 4\,4 + e\,e \div 4\,e + 4\,4 \div a\,e + 4\,4 \div e \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} a \times e &= e + y\,e \div y\,e + y\,y \div e \\ x\,e \times y &= y \div a\,y + a\,a \div y\,a + y \\ y \times a &= a + e\,a \div e\,a + e\,e \div a \end{aligned}$$

Cuspis decima.

$$\begin{aligned} a \times e &= e + b\,y + b \\ s\,e \times y &= y + b\,a + b \\ y \times a &= a + b\,e + b \end{aligned}$$

$a \times e = e + b\, y + b$
$d\, e \times y = y + c\, a + c$
$y \times a = a + d\, e + d$

$a \times e = e + 2\, y + 2$
$f\, e \times y = y + 3\, a + 3$
$y \times a = a + 4\, e + 4$

$a \times e = e + y$
$x\, e \times y = y + a$
$y \times a = a + e$

Cuspis undecima.

$a \times e\, a \div e = e + b\, y + b$
$s\, e \div y\, e \times y = y + b\, a + b$
$y \times a\, y \div a = a + b\, e + b$

$a \times e\, a \div e = e + b\, y + b$
$d\, e \div y\, e \times y = y + c\, a + c$
$y \times a\, y \div a = a + d\, e + d$

$a \times e\, a \div e = e + 2\, y + 2$
$f\, e \div y\, e \times y = y + 3\, a + 3$
$y \times a\, y \div a = a + 4\, e + 4$

$a \times e\, a \div e = e + y$
$x\, e \div y\, e \times y = y + a$
$y \times a\, y \div a = a + e$

Cuspis duodecima.

$a \div e = b + e\, b + y$
$s\, e \div y = b + y\, b + a$
$y \div a = b + a\, b + e$

$a \div e = b + e\, b + y$
$d\, e \div y = c + y\, c + a$
$y \div a = d + a\, d + e$

$a \div e = 2 + e\, 2 + y$
$f\, e \div y = 3 + y\, 3 + a$
$y \div a = 4 + e\, 4 + e$

$a \div e = e + y$
$xe \div y = y + a$
$y \div a = a + e$

Cuspis decima tertia.

$a \div e = e + bb - ey + bb - yb + ee - bb + yy - b$
$se \div y = y - bb + ya - bb + ab - yy + bb - aa + b$
$y \div a = a + bb - ae + bb - eb + aa - bb + ee - b$

$a \div e = e + bb - ey + bb - yb + ee - bb + yy - b$
$de \div y = y - ee + ya - ee + ac - yy + ee - aa + c$
$y \div a = a + dd - ae + dd - ed + aa - dd + ee - d$

$a \div e = e + 22 - ey + 22 - y2 + ee - 22 + yy - 2$
$xe \div y = y - 33 + ya - 33 + a3 - yy + 33 - aa + 3$
$y \div a = a + 44 - ae + 44 - e4 + aa - 44 + ee - 4$

$a \div e = e + ye - ye + yy - e$
$xe \div y = y - ay + aa - ya + y$
$y \div a = a + ea - ea + ee - a$

Cuspis decima quarta.

$a \div e = b - eb - ye - by - b$
$se \div y = b - yb - ay - ba - b$
$y \div a = b - ab - ea - be - b$

$a \div e = b - eb \quad ye - by - b$
$de \div y = c - yc - ay - ca - c$
$y \div a = d - ad - ea - de - d$

$a \div e = 2 - e2 - ye - 2y - 2$
$fe \div y = 3 - y3 - ay - 3a - 3$
$y \div a = 4 - a4 - ea - 4e - 4$

$a \div e = e - yy - e$
$xe \div y = y - aa - y$
$y \div a = a - ee - a$

Cuspis decima quinta.

$a \div c\, a + c = e - b\, y - b\, b - e\, b - y$
$s\, c + y\, c \div y = y - b\, a - b\, b - y\, b - a$
$y \div a\, y + a = a - b\, c - b\, b - a\, b - c$

$a \div e\, a + e = e - b\, y - b\, b - e\, b - y$
$d\, e + y\, e \div y = y - c\, a - c\, c - y\, c - a$
$y \div a\, y + a = a - d\, e - d\, d - a\, d - e$

$a \div e\, a + e = e - 2\, y - 2\, 2 - e\, 2 - y$
$f\, e + y\, e \div y = y - 3\, a - 3\, 3 - y\, 3 - a$
$y \div a\, y + a = a - 4\, e - 4\, 4 - a\, 4 - a$

$a \div c\, a + e = e - y\, y - e$
$x\, c + y\, c \div y = y - a\, a - y$
$y \div a\, y + a = a - c\, e - a$

Cuspis decima sexta.

$a + e = e - b\, y - b\, b - e\, b - y$
$s\, e + y = y - b\, a - b\, b - y\, b - a$
$y + a = a - b\, e - b\, b - a\, b - e$

$a + e = e - b\, y - b\, b - e\, b - y$
$d\, e + y = y - c\, a - c\, c - y\, c - a$
$y + a = a - d\, e - d\, d - a\, d - e$

$a + e = e - 2\, y - 2\, 2 - e\, 2 - y$
$f\, e + y = y - 3\, a - 3\, 3 - y\, 3 - a$
$y + a = a - 4\, e - 4\, 4 - a\, 4 - e$

$a + e = e - y\, y - e$
$x\, e + y = y - a\, a - y$
$y + a = a - e\, e - a$

N.B. Est et alia varietas in prioribus æquationum membris, ubi signum analyticum reperitur, viz. si Species transponamus. E.g. in cuspide quarta adhibitis $\begin{Bmatrix} e - a \\ y - e \\ a - y \end{Bmatrix}$ in duodecima $\begin{Bmatrix} e \div a \\ y \div e \\ a \div y \end{Bmatrix}$ duplicabuntur quæstiones.

[[1] Ne quis forte putet quæstiones omnes in ludo nostro possibiles a Tabulis exhiberi, notandum est illas revera esse innumeras. Nam metæ infinities variari poterunt: ex his vero pendet numerus quantitatum in quovis problemate quæsitarum, qui proinde pro metarum diversitate erit infinite variabilis; unde quæstiones orientur innumeræ, in quarum tamen singulis non aliæ servandæ sunt methodi pro signis, combinationibus, et speciebus determinandis, quam quæ in solis quæstionibus imparis cujusvis præter unitatem numeri quantitatum quæsitarum, atque adeo in Tabulis quas apposuimus exhibeantur.]

[1] This paragraph is not in the 1707 edition.

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

CAVE OF DUNMORE

First published in 1871

NOTE

The Cave of Dunmore is one of the wonders of Kilkenny. It has been described by successive travellers. Berkeley's description seems to have been written earlier than any other. The next of which I am aware is contained in a *Tour through Ireland*, 'by two English gentlemen,' published in Dublin in 1748. In the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1773, there is a letter to Dr. Morton, secretary of the Royal Society, from Mr. Adam Walker, dated Dublin, April 26, 1771, 'containing an account of the Cavern at Dunmore Park, near Kilkenny, in Ireland,' in which it is compared with the Derbyshire caverns. Campbell's *Philosophical Survey of Ireland*, a few years later, has a perfunctory reference, and Mr. Tighe's *Statistical Survey of the County of Kilkenny* describes the caves. 'An Account of a Visit to the Cave of Dunmore, in Co. Kilkenny, with some Remarks on Human Remains found therein,' by Dr. Foot, appeared in the *Journal of the Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland* for January, 1870. Dr. Foot's visit was on September 10, 1869, in company with the Rev. James Graves (to whose kindness in this and other investigations concerning Berkeley I am indebted) and Mr. Burtchael. The party carried off human bones, specimens of the mysterious human remains referred to in this *Description*, now deposited in the Museum of the Association. Dr. Foot refers those remains to the tenth century, and considers that they confirm the statement in the *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland* by the Four Masters, that, in 'the age of Christ, 928, Godfrey, grandson of Imhar, with the foreigners of Athcliath [Dublin] demolished and plundered Dearc-Fearna [Dunmore Cave], where one thousand persons were killed in that year.' 'In the inmost recesses of Dearc-Fearna,' Dr. Foot adds, 'unmistakeable evidence of the truth of the statement that a wholesale massacre was perpetrated there exists, in the osseous remains of men, women, and children, which, though not now strewing the Cave in the same profusion as they formerly did, may be procured in quantities, by disturbing the surface of the floor in a particular place.' An engraving of the entrance to the Cave is given in the *Dublin Penny Journal* (1832).

Berkeley's description of this Cave is written at the end of his Commonplace Book, but no date is given. His visit may have been made in some of the vacations of his college life.

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

CAVE OF DUNMORE

THERE is one of the rarities of this kingdom which, though I judge considerable enough to take place amongst the rest, yet so it is I neither find it described nor so much as mentioned by those who are curious in things of this nature—I mean the Cave of Dunmore. In default therefore of a better, I offer to the world my own account of this remarkable place, so far as I shall be able to copy it from what I remember either to have seen myself or heard from others.

This cave is distant four miles from Kilkenny and two from Dunmore, his grace the Duke of Ormond's country house, from whence it has its name. Its mouth or entrance is situated in a rising ground, and affords a very dismal prospect, being both wide and deep, and on all sides rocky and precipitous save one, which is a slope, part whereof is fashioned into a path and in some places into steps. This as well as the rest of the sides is overrun with elder[1] and other shrubs, which add to the horror of the place, and make it a suitable habitation for ravens, screech-owls, and such like feral birds, which abide in the cavities of the rock.

At the foot of this descent, by an opening which resembles a wide arched gate, we entered into a spacious vault, the bottom whereof is always slabby by reason of the continual distillation of rock-water. Here we had

[1] The early name of the Cave was *Dearc-Fearna*, i. e. the alder-cave. The alder tree is called in Irish *fearn*.

farewell to daylight, which was succeeded by a formidable darkness that fills the hollows of this capacious cavern. And having, by the help of our candles, spy'd out our way towards the left hand [1], and not without some difficulty clambered over a ruinous heap of huge unwieldy stones, we descry'd a farther entrance into the rock, but at some distance from the ground. Here nature seemed to have made certain round stones jut out of the wall on purpose to facilitate our ascent.

Having gone through this narrow passage we were surprised to find ourselves in a vast and spacious hall, the floor of which as well as the sides and roof is rock, though in some places it be cleft into very frightful chasms, yet for the most part is pretty level and coherent; the roof is adorned with a multitude of small round pipes as thick as a goose-quill, and, if I misremember not, a foot long or thereabouts; from each of 'em there distils a drop of clear water, which, congealing at the bottom, forms a round, hard, and white stone. The noise of these falling drops being somewhat augmented by the echo of the cave, seems to make an agreeable harmony amidst so profound a silence. The stones, which I take to be three or four inches high (they all seeming much of a bigness), being set thick in the pavement make a very odd figure. Here is likewise an obelisque of a greyish colour, and (I think) about three or four feet high. The drop which formed it has ceased, so that it receives no farther increment.

This cave, in the great variety of its congelations as well as in some other respects, seems not a little to resemble one I find described by the name of Les Grottes d'Arcy, in a French treatise *De l'Origine des Fontaines*, dedicated to the famous Huygenius, and printed at Paris in 1678. But I must own that the French cave has much the advantage of ours, on account of the art and regularity which nature has observed in forming its congelations, or else that anonymous French author has infinitely surpassed me in strength of fancy; for, after having given a long detail of several things which he says are there represented by them, he concludes with these words, 'Enfin l'on y voit les ressemblances de tout ce qu'on peut

[1] Right hand. Berkeley is wrong as to the direction.

s'imaginer, soit d'hommes, d'animaux, de poissons, de fruits, &c.' : i.e. in short, here you may see whatever you can possibly imagine, whether men, beasts, fishes, fruits, or anything else. Now, though as much be confidently reported and believed of our cave, yet, to speak ingenuously, 'tis more than I could find to be true : but, on the contrary, am mightily tempted to think all that curious imagery is chiefly owing to the strength of imagination ; for like as we see the clouds so far comply with the fancy of a child, as to represent to him trees, horses, men, or whatever else he 's pleased to think on, so 'tis no difficult matter for men of a strong imagination to fancy the petrified water stamped with the impressions of their own brain, when in reality it may as well be supposed to resemble one thing as another.

By what has been observed it appears the congelations are not all of the same colour ; the pipes look very like alum, the stones formed by their drops are white inclining to yellow, and the obelisque I mentioned differs from both. There is also a quantity of this congealed water that by reason of its very white colour and irregular figure at some distance resembles a heap of snow ; and such at first sight I took it to be, much wondering how it came there. When we approached it with a light it sparkled and cast a lively lustre, and we discerned in its superficies a number of small cavities. But the noblest ornament of this spacious hall is a huge channelled pillar which, standing in the middle, reaches from top to bottom. There is in one side of it a cavity that goes by the name of the alabaster chair. The congelations which form this column are of a yellowish colour, and as to their shape something like the pipes of an organ. But organs I find are no rarity in places of this nature ; they being to be met not only in the cave of Arcy, and that of Antiparos described in the same treatise, pp. 279 and 287, but also in one near the Firth of Forth in Scotland, mentioned by Sir Robert Sibbald in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 222 [1]. This

[1] This is in a letter from Sir Robert Sibbald to Dr. Martin Lister, published in the *Philos. Trans.* for October, 1696. The letter refers, by the way, for some particulars of the Caves and natural history of the Isle of Skye, to 'Mr. Martin, my friend, a curious gentleman, who was born there.' This was Murdoch Martin, author

I look upon to be in all respects by far the greatest pillar I ever saw, and believe its pedestal, which is of a dark colour and with a glorious sparkling reflects the light of a candle, may be as much as three men can well fathom.

I am concerned that I did not take the dimensions both of this lofty pillar and of the other things I endeavour to describe. I am sorry I cannot furnish the curious with an exact account of the length, breadth, and height of these subterraneous chambers, and have reason to think my reader has by this time often blamed me for using such undetermined expressions as wide, narrow, deep, &c., where something more accurate may be looked for. All I can say is that I endeavour to give a faithful account of this place, so far as I can recollect at the distance of almost seven years, and am of opinion this imperfect sketch might not be altogether unacceptable to the curious, till such time as some one shall have an opportunity of giving 'em a more full and accurate description of this place.

Here it was I desired one of our company to fire off his gun; the sound we heard for a considerable time roll through the hollows of the earth, and at length it could not so properly be said to cease as go out of our hearing. I have been told that a noise thus made in the cave may be heard by one walking in the great aisle of St. Canic's church in Kilkenny, but know no one who ever made the experiment [1].

Having viewed the wonders of this place and not discovering any further passage, we returned through the narrow entrance we came in by. And here I cannot but call to mind how two or three dogs we brought along with us, not venturing to go any further, stayed behind in the outer cavern; these creatures, seeming to be very much amazed at the horrid solitude wherewith they were environed, and, as it were to lament their deplorable state, set themselves to howl with all their might; which hideous yelling, continued through the sonorous windings

of the *Voyage to St. Kilda* (1698), who was Berkeley's travelling companion from Calais to Paris, in November, 1713.

[1] The cathedral of St. Canice. The story is that a piper, who strayed into the recesses of the Cave, was heard playing underground, near St. Mary's church, in Kilkenny.

of the cave and reverberated from the ambient rocks, would undoubtedly have put us in no small consternation had we not known who were the authors of it. By this time some of our company thought they had seen enough, and were very impatient to get out of this dreadful dungeon. The rest of us went on through a passage opposite to the former, and much of the same wideness, which led us into another cave that appeared every way formidably vast; and though the interval of time may have rendered my ideas of several things I there saw dim and imperfect, yet the dismal solitude, the fearful darkness, and vast silence of that stupendous cavern have left lasting impressions in my memory. The bottom is in great part strewed with huge massive stones, which seem by the violence of an earthquake to have been torn from the rock, and the menacing brows of the shattered remains, which threaten every moment to tumble from the roof, are apt to raise terrible apprehensions in the mind of one who beholds them over his head. One who visited this place in company of some others told me that when they were just come out of it they heard a dreadful noise from within, which they imputed to the fall of some of those rocky fragments. Advancing forward we met with a great white congelation set against the side of the cave, which somewhat resembles a pulpit with a canopy over it, and hard by we saw the earth turned up at the entrance of a rabbit-hole, and I have heard others affirm that very far in this dark and dismal place they have met with fresh rabbits'-dung: now to me it seems strange to conceive what these little animals can live on, for it passes imagination to think they can find the way in and out of the cave, unless they can see in the dark. Having gone a little further, we were surprised with the agreeable murmur of a rivulet falling through the clefts of the rock; it skims along the side of the cave, and may be, as I guess, about six feet over; its water is wonderfully cool and pleasant, and so very clear that, where I thought it was scarce an inch deep, I found myself up to my knees[1]. This excellent water runs but a little way ere the rock gapes to swallow it.

[1] I am told that this rivulet has ceased to run.

But what is most surprising is that the bottom of this spring is all overspread with dead men's bones, and for how deep I cannot tell. On the brink there lies part of a skull, designed as a drinking bowl for those whom either thirst or curiosity may prompt to taste of this subterraneous fountain; neither need any one's niceness be offended on account of the bones, for the continual current of the water has sufficiently cleansed them from all filth and putrefaction. 'Tis likewise reported that there are great heaps of dead men's bones to be seen piled up in the remote recesses of this cavern; but what brought them thither there 's not the least glimpse of tradition that ever I could hear of to inform us. 'Tis true I remember to have heard one tell how an old Irishman, who served for a guide into the cave, solved him this problem, by saying that in days of yore a certain carnivorous beast dwelling there was wont furiously to lay about him, and whoever were unhappy enough to come in his way hurry them for food into that his dreadful den. But this, methinks, has not the least show of probability; for, in the first place, Ireland seems the freest country in the world from such manslaughtering animals, and, allowing there was some such pernicious beast, some anomalous production of this country, then, those bones being supposed the relicks of devoured men, one might reasonably expect to find 'em scattered up and down in all parts of the cave, rather than piled up in heaps or gathered together in the water. There are who guess that, during the Irish rebellion in '41, some Protestants, having sought refuge in this place, were there massacred by the Irish. But if it were so, methinks we should have something more than bare conjecture to trust to; both history and tradition could never have been silent in it, and the Irishman I just now spoke of must certainly have known it, though of him indeed it might be said he would be apt to conceal the barbarous cruelty of his countrymen. Moreover, 'tis observed the deeper bodies are laid in the earth, so as to be sheltered from the injuries and change of the weather, they remain the longer uncorrupted. But I never heard that they who have seen these bones about thirty or forty years ago observed any difference in them as to their freshness from what they are at present. Who knows but in former

times this cave served the Irish for the same purpose for which those artificial caves of Rome and Naples called catacombs were intended by the ancients, i.e. was a repository for their dead; but still what should move them to lay the bones we saw in the water I cannot possibly divine. 'Tis likewise very hard to imagine why they were at the pains to drag the corses through long and narrow passages, that so they might inter them farther in the obscure depths of the cave. Perhaps they thought their deceased friends would enjoy a more undisturbed security in the innermost chambers of this melancholy vault.

Proceeding forward we came to a place so low that our heads almost touched the top; a little beyond this we were forced to stoop, and soon after creep on our knees. Here the roof was thick set with crystal pipes, but they had all given over dropping; they were very brittle, and as we crept along we broke 'em off with our hats, which rubbed against the roof. On our left hand we saw a terrible hiatus, that by its black and scaring looks seemed to penetrate a great way into the bowels of the earth. And here we met with a good quantity of petrified water, in which, though folks may fancy they see the representations of a great many things, yet I profess I know not what more fitly to compare it to than to the blearings of a candle. These congelations which stood in our way had almost stopped up the passage, so that we were obliged to return.

I will not deny that there are other passages which by a diligent search we might have discovered, or a guide acquainted with the place have directed us to. For 'tis generally thought no one ever went to the end of this cave, but that being sometimes forced to creep through narrow passages, one comes again into great and spacious vaults. I have heard talk of several persons who are said to have taken these subterraneous journeys; particularly one St. Leger, who, having provided a box of torches and victuals for himself and his man, is reported to have travelled for the space of two or three days in the untrodden paths of this horrible cave, and that when his victuals were well-nigh spent and half his torches burnt out, he left his sword standing in the ground and made haste to return. I have also been told that others, having gone a great way, wrote

their names on a dead man's skull, which they set up for a monument at their journey's end. But I will not vouch for the truth of these and many other stories I have heard, many whereof are apparently fabulous.

But one thing I am very credibly informed, viz. that out of the first cavern whence we entered into the two caves I already spoke of, there was formerly a passage into a third, which has been stopped up by the fall of such pendulous rocks as are above mentioned; and that, about thirty years ago, a grave and inquisitive gentleman of these parts, having gone a great way in the said cave, spy'd a hole in one side of it, into which, when his man had thrust his head in order to discover what sort of a place it was, the gentleman was amazed to find him speechless; whereupon he straightway drew him forth, and firing off his pistol to put the air in motion, the man, whom the stagnating damp had caused to faint, came to himself, and told his master he had seen within the hole a huge and spacious cavern. This accident discouraged the gentleman from prosecuting his journey for the present, though he saw a plain and direct way before his face; nevertheless he designed to return soon after, and make a diligent inquiry into the nature and extent of that mysterious place, but was prevented by death.

After all, I have known some so unreasonable as to question whether this cave was not the workmanship of men or giants in old time, though it has all the rudeness and simplicity of nature, and is much too big for art. Nor is there anything so strange or unaccountable in it, considering its entrance is in a hill, and the country all around it hilly and uneven; for, from the origin of hills and mountains, as it is delivered by Descartes [1], and since him by our later theorists, 'tis plain they are hollow, and include vast caverns; which is further confirmed by experience and observation.

Soon after I finished the foregoing description of the cave, I had it revised by Mr. William Jackson, a curious and philosophical young gentleman, who was very lately there. He said the account I gave was very agreeable to what he himself had seen, and was pleased to allow it

[1] *Principia*, Pars Quarta, cap. 44.

a greater share of exactness than I durst have claimed to it. He had with him an ingenious friend, who designed to have taken the plan and dimensions of the several caverns, and whatever was remarkable in them; but the uneasiness they felt from a stifling heat hindered them from staying in the cave so long as was requisite for that purpose. This may seem somewhat surprising, especially if it be observed that we on the contrary found it extremely cool and refreshing. Now, in order to account for this alteration, 'tis to be observed those gentlemen felt the heat about the beginning of spring, before the influence of the sun was powerful enough to open the pores of the earth, which as yet were close shut by the cold of the preceding winter; so that those hot streams which are continually sent up by the central heat—for that there is a central heat all agree, though men differ as to its cause, some deriving from an incrusted star, others from the nucleus of a comet sunburnt in its perihelium—remained pent up in the cavern, not finding room to perspire through the uppermost strata of rock and earth: whereas I was there about a month after the summer solstice, when the solar heat had for a long time and in its full strength dwelt upon the face of the earth, unlocking its pores and thereby yielding a free passage to the ascending streams [1]. Mr. Jackson informed me of another observable [fact] that I had not taken notice of, viz. that some of the bones which lay in the water were covered over with a stony crust; and Mr. Bindon (so was the other gentleman called) told me he met with one that to him seemed petrified throughout.

Before I have done I must crave leave to advertise my reader that where, out of compliance with custom, I use the terms congelation, petrification, &c., I would not be understood to think the stones formed of the droppings were made of mere water metamorphosed by any lapidific virtue whatever; being, as to their origin and consistence, entirely of the learned Dr. Woodward's opinion, as set forth in his *Natural History of the Earth* [2], pp. 191 and

[1] This is not discordant with modern science, and is characteristic of Berkeley, who was fond of speculating about natural phenomena.

[2] *An Essay towards the Natural History of the Earth. With an Account of the Universal Deluge,*

192, where he takes that kind of stone, by naturalists termed stalactites, to be only a concretion of such stony particles as are borne along with the water in its passage through the rock from whence it distils.

and of the Effects that it had upon the Earth, by John Woodward, M.D., Professor of Physick in Gresham College. The first edition appeared in London in 1695, and the second in 1723. The reference here is to the first edition.

THE REVELATION OF LIFE AND IMMORTALITY

A DISCOURSE

DELIVERED IN THE CHAPEL OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, ON SUNDAY EVENING, JANUARY 11, $170\frac{7}{8}$

First published in 1871

NOTE

THIS *Discourse* was found among the Berkeley MSS. in the possession of the late Archdeacon Rose, and was first published in 1871, in my former edition of Berkeley's Works. It was written when he was in his twenty-third year, and is interesting biographically. As he took Deacon's orders only in February, 1709, this *Discourse*, delivered more than a year before, may have been of the nature of an academical exercise. The Future Life of Man is the subject of more than one of his essays in the *Guardian*, and is considered in various parts of the *Principles* and *Alciphron*.

THE

REVELATION OF IMMORTALITY

2 Tim. i. 10.

Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel.

Whether or no the knowledge of eternal life may be reckoned among the attainments of some ancient philosophers, I shall not now inquire. Be that as it will, sure I am the doctrine of life and immortality was never so current and universal as since the coming of our blessed Saviour. For though it be granted, which nevertheless is very hard to conceive, that some few of extraordinary parts and application might, by the unassisted force of reason, have obtained a demonstrative knowledge of that important point; yet those who wanted either leisure or abilities for making so great and difficult a discovery, which was doubtless the far greatest part of mankind, must still have remained in the dark: for, though they who saw farther than other men should tell them the result of their reasonings, yet he that knows not the premises could never be certain of the conclusion except his teacher had the power of working miracles for his conviction. 'Tis therefore evident that, whatever discoveries of a future state were made by those that diverted their thoughts that way, how far soever they might have seen, yet all this light was smothered in their own bosoms, not a ray to enlighten the rest of mankind till the dawning of the Sun of Righteousness, who brought life and immortality to light by the gospel. In discoursing on which

words I shall observe the following method:—1st, I shall consider what effect this revelation has had on the Christian world; 2ndly, I shall inquire how it comes to pass that it has no greater effect on our lives and conversations; 3rdly, I shall shew by what means it may be rendered more effectual.

As to the 1st point, one would think he had not far to seek for the effects of so important and universal a revelation—a revelation of eternal happiness or misery, the unavoidable inheritance of every man, delivered by the Son of God, confirmed by miracles, and owned by all the professors of Christianity. If some among the heathen practised good actions on no other view than the temporal advantages to civil society; if others were found who thought virtue a reward sufficient for itself; if reason and experience had long before convinced the world how unpleasant and destructive vice had been, as well to its votaries as the rest of mankind, what man would not embrace a thing in itself so lovely and profitable as virtue, when recommended by the glorious reward of life and immortality? what wretch so obdurate and foolish as not to shun vice, a thing so hateful and pernicious, when discouraged therefrom by the additional terrors of eternal death and damnation? Thus might a man think a thorough reformation of manners the necessary effect of such a doctrine as our Saviour's. He may perhaps imagine that men, as soon as their eyes were opened, would quit all thoughts of this perishing earth, and extend their views to those new-discovered regions of life and immortality. Thus, I say, might a man hope and argue with himself. But, alas! upon inquiry all this, I fear, will be found frustrated hopes and empty speculation.

Let us but look a little into matter of fact. How far, I beseech you, do we Christians surpass the old heathen Romans in temperance and fortitude, in honour and integrity? Are we less given to pride and avarice, strife and faction, than our Pagan ancestors? With us that have immortality in view, is not the old doctrine of 'Eat and drink, for to-morrow we die,' as much in vogue as ever? We inhabitants of Christendom, enlightened with the light of the Gospel, instructed by the Son of God, are we such shining examples of peace and virtue to the

unconverted Gentile world? and is it less certain than wonderful that now, when the fulness of time is come, and the light of the Gospel held forth to guide every man through piety and virtue into everlasting happiness,—I say, is it not equally evident and strange, that at this time of day and in these parts of the world men go together by the ears about the things of this life, and scramble for a little dirt within sight of heaven?

I come now to inquire into the cause of this strange blindness and infatuation of Christians, whence it is that immortality, a happy immortality, has so small influence, when the vain, transitory things of this life do so strongly affect and engage us in the pursuit of them? Wherein consists the wondrous mechanism of our passions, which are set a-going by the small inconsiderable objects of sense, whilst things of infinite weight and moment are altogether ineffectual? Did Heaven but kindle in our hearts hopes and desires suitable to so great and excellent an object, doubtless all the actions of our lives would evidently concur to the attainment thereof. One could be no longer to seek for the effects of our Saviour's revelation amongst us. Whoever beheld a Christian would straightway take him for a pilgrim on earth, walking in the direct path to heaven. So regardless should he be of the things of this life, so full of the next, and so free from the vice and corruption which at present stains our profession. If, then, we can discover how it comes to pass that our desire of life and immortality is so weak and ineffectual, we shall in some measure see into the cause of those many contradictions which are too conspicuous betwixt the faith and practice of Christians, and be able to solve that great riddle, namely, that men should think infinite eternal bliss within their reach and scarce do anything for the obtaining it. Rational desires are vigorous in proportion to the goodness and, if I may so speak, attainableness of their objects; for whatever provokes desire does it more or less according as it is more or less desirable; and what makes a thing desirable is its goodness or agreeableness to our nature, and also the probability there is of our being able to obtain it. For that which is apparently out of our reach affects us not, desire being a spur to action, and no rational agent directing his actions to what he sees

impossible. I know a late incomparable philosopher[1] will have the present uneasiness the mind feels, which ordinarily is not proportionate to the goodness of the object, to determine the will. But I speak not of the ordinary brutish appetites of men, but of well-grounded rational desires, which, from what has been said, 'tis plain are in a direct compounded reason of the excellency and certainty of their objects. Thus, an object with half the goodness and double the certainty, and another with half the certainty and double the goodness, are equally desired; and universally those lots are alike esteemed wherein the prizes are reciprocally as the chances. Let us now by this rule try what value we ought to put on our Saviour's promises, with what degree of zeal and desire we should in reason pursue those things Jesus Christ has brought to light by the Gospel. In order whereunto it will be proper, 1st, to consider their excellency, and 2dly, the certainty there is of our obtaining them upon fulfilling the conditions on which they are promised. 1st, then, the things promised by our Saviour are life and immortality; that is, in the language of the Scriptures, eternal happiness, a happiness large as our desires, and those desires not stinted to the few objects we at present receive from some dull inlets of perception, but proportionate to what our faculties shall be when God has given the finishing stroke to our nature and made us fit inhabitants for heaven—a happiness which we narrow-sighted mortals wretchedly point out to ourselves by green meadows, fragrant groves, refreshing shades, crystal streams, and what other pleasant ideas our fancies can glean up in this vale of misery, but in vain; since the Apostle himself, who was caught up into the third heaven, could give no other than this empty though emphatical description of it: 'tis what 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive.' Now, by the foregoing rule, the hazard, though never so small and uncertain, of a good so ineffably, so inconceivably great, ought to be more valued and sought after than the greatest assurance we can have of any sublunary good; since in what proportion this good is more certain than that, in as great, nay, in

[1] Locke. See his *Essay* and my annotations, Bk. II. ch. xxi. §§ 29-41 (Clarendon Press edition, 1894).

a much greater proportion that good is more excellent than this. 'Twill therefore be needless to inquire nicely into the second thing which was to be considered, namely, the certainty there is of the prize, which is good enough to warrant the laying out all our care, industry, and affections on the least hazard of obtaining it.

Whatever effect brutal passion may have on some, or thoughtlessness and stupidity on others, yet I believe there are none amongst us that do not at least think it as probable the Gospel may be true as false. Sure I am no man can say he has two to one odds on the contrary side. But when life and immortality are at stake, we should play our part with fear and trembling, though 'twere an hundred to one but we are cheated in the end. Nay, if there be any, the least prospect of our winning so noble a prize; and that there is some, none, the beastliest libertine or most besotted atheist, can deny. Hence 'tis evident that, were our desires of the things brought to light through the Gospel such as in strict reason they ought to be, nothing could be more vigorous and intense, nothing more firm and constant than they; and desire producing uneasiness, and uneasiness action in proportion to itself, it necessarily follows that we should make life and immortality our principal business, directing all our thoughts, hopes, and actions that way, and still doing something towards so noble a purchase. But since it is too evidently otherwise, since the trifling concerns of this present life do so far employ us that we can scarce spare time to cast an eye on futurity and look beyond the grave, 'tis a plain consequence that we have not a rational desire for the things brought to light by our Saviour, and that because we do not exercise our reason about them as we do about more trivial concerns. Hence it is the revelation of life and immortality has so little effect on our lives and conversations; we never think, we never reason about it. Now, why men that can reason well enough about other matters, should act the beast and the block so egregiously in things of highest importance; why they should prove so deaf and stupid to the repeated calls and promises of God, there may, I think, besides the ordinary avocations of the world, the flesh, and the devil, be assigned these two reasons: 1st, we have no determined idea of the pleasures

of heaven, and therefore they may not so forcibly engage us in the contemplation of them; 2dly, they are the less thought on because we imagine them at a great distance. As to the 1st, 'tis true we can in this life have no determined idea of the pleasures of the next, and that because of their surpassing, transcendent nature, which is not suited to our present weak and narrow faculties. But this methinks should suffice, that they shall be excellent beyond the compass of our imagination, that they shall be such as God, wise, powerful, and good, shall think fit to honour and bless his family withal. Would the Almighty inspire us with new faculties, and give us a taste of those celestial joys, there could be no longer living in this world, we could have no relish for the things of it, but must languish and pine away with an incessant longing after the next. Besides, there could be no virtue, no vice; we should be no longer free agents, but irresistibly hurried on to do or suffer anything for the obtaining so great felicity. As for the 2d reason assigned for our neglect of the life to come, namely, that it appears to be at a great distance from us, I own we are very apt to think it so, though, for ought that I can see, without any reason at all. The world we live in may not unfitly be compared to Alexander the Impostor's temple, as described by Lucian. It had a fore and a back door, and a continual press going in at the one and out at the other, so there was little stay for any one to observe what was doing within. Just so we see a multitude daily crowding into the world and daily going out of it; we have scarce time to look about us, and if we were left every one to his own experience, could know very little either of the earth itself, or of those things the Almighty has placed thereon, so swift is our progress from the womb to the grave; and yet this span of life, this moment of duration, we are senseless enough to make account of as if it were longer than even eternity itself. But, granting the promised happiness be never so far off, and let it appear never so small, what then? Is an object in reality little because it appears so at a distance? And I ask, whether shall a man make an estimate of things by what they really are in themselves, or by what they only appear to be?

I come now to the third and last thing proposed, namely, to shew how our Saviour's revelation of life and immortality may come to have a greater effect on our lives and conversations. Had we but a longing desire for the things brought to light by the Gospel, it would undoubtedly shew itself in our lives, and we should thirst after righteousness as the hart panteth after the water brooks. Now, to beget in ourselves this zeal and uneasiness for life and immortality, we need only, as has been already made out, cast an eye on them, think and reason about them with some degree of attention. Let any man but open his eyes and behold the two roads before him—the one leading through the straight, peaceful paths of piety and virtue to eternal life; the other deformed with all the crookedness of vice, and ending in everlasting death,—I say, let a man but look before him and view them both with a reasonable care, and then choose which he will. A man taking such a course cannot be mistaken in his choice; and is not this a small thing to weigh and ponder a little the proffers of the Almighty? Would any one propose to us a bargain that carried with it some prospect of worldly advantage, we should without doubt think it worth our consideration; and when the eternal God makes us an offer of happiness, boundless as our desires and lasting as our immortal souls,—when He dispatches His well-beloved Son on this momentous message, shall we remain stupid and inattentive; and must it be said to our reproach that life and immortality are pearls before swine? 'Tis true most people have a peculiar aversion for thinking, but especially to trouble one's head about another life is much out of fashion. The world to come takes up little of our thoughts and less of our conversation. Wealth, pleasure, and preferment make the great business of our lives; and we stand on all sides exposed to the solicitations of sense, which never fail to draw off our thoughts from remote goods. But be it never so unfashionable, be it never so painful and laborious a task, he that will enjoy heaven in the next life must think on it in this; he must break through the encumbrances of sense and pleasure sometimes to have a serious thought of eternity, and cast an eye on the recompense of reward. In short, he that is not resolved to walk blindfold down to hell must look

about him betimes, while he stands upon firm ground, and from off this present world take a prospect of the next, in comparison of which the whole earth and all contained therein is, in the elegant style of a prophet, no more than the drop of a bucket, the dust of a balance, yea less than nothing.

Grant, we beseech thee, Almighty God, that the words which we have heard this day with our outward ears may, through Thy grace, be so grafted inwardly in our hearts, that they may bring forth in us the fruit of good living, to the honour and praise of Thy Name; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore.

PASSIVE OBEDIENCE

OR

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF NOT RESISTING THE SUPREME POWER, PROVED AND VINDICATED

UPON

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE LAW OF NATURE

IN A DISCOURSE DELIVERED AT THE CHAPEL OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

'Nec vero aut per Senatum aut per Populum salvi hac Lege possumus.'
CICERO, *Fragment. de Repub.*

First published in 1712

EDITOR'S PREFACE

TO THE

DISCOURSE ON PASSIVE OBEDIENCE

THE first two editions of this *Discourse* appeared in London in 1712, 'printed for H. Clements, at the Half-Moon in St. Paul's Church-yard.' A third edition followed in 1713, adding sect. 53, and the note appended to sect. 48.

The *Discourse on Passive Obedience* is the fullest exposition Berkeley has given of his ethical theory, as held when he was twenty-seven years of age. It takes the form of a disquisition on the ethics of civil government, which the author says originally 'made three discourses,' delivered in the chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, given afterwards to the world 'in the form of one entire Discourse.'

The tract is interesting, as an exposition of Berkeley's general ethical principles, besides being a reasoned defence of the special duty of loyalty to civil government as opposed to rebellion. By 'passive obedience' he means patient submission to whatever penalties the governing power has annexed to the neglect or transgression of its laws, in those cases in which actual performance of what is enjoined is believed by the governed to be inconsistent with reason and conscience (sect. 3).

He begins by taking for granted that self-regard is the supreme motive of human conduct: we call actions

good or *evil* as they are adapted or not to make us happy. But for distinguishing goodness or happiness that is real from transitory pleasures we must refer actions absolutely to principles that are immutable—to universal Law. Now it is a truth 'immediately evident by the light of nature, that there is a sovereign, omniscient Spirit, who alone can make us for ever happy, or for ever miserable' (sect. 6). So the eternal laws of the universe must at last be referred to the eternal constitution of God, in other words, to Moral Law, vivified or personified. And as God is thus absolute goodness, the universal laws must have for their end the highest good of men; who are therefore bound in reason to conform their actions to them. Because God is perfectly good, the well-being of all men must be that which He designs should be procured by the concurrent actions of each man. Self-regard and philanthropy are reconciled through God.

Now, men can be supposed to concur in one or other of two ways, viz. either by calculating all the consequences of each action which they are moved to perform, or by conforming their actions to rules that are eternal and immutable. The first of these ways is impossible, for it transcends finite intelligence and human experience. The ends to which God requires our concurrence can, therefore, be reached only by the application of universal rules which have a necessary tendency to promote the well-being of mankind, taking in all men from the beginning to the end of the world.

The special duty of 'passive obedience,' or unresisting submission to the penalties of disobedience, is deduced by Berkeley from these general principles, and then vindicated against objections. Loyalty is proposed as an immutable moral duty, and active rebellion is argued against as resistance to the eternal laws of nature or God. Submission would rest on a precarious foundation, unless it were supported by the conviction that civil authority is

divine, and the organisation of society a providential evolution.

The *Discourse* was published, we are told, in order to dispel 'false accounts' of three discourses delivered in Trinity College. That it did not at first succeed in dissipating suspicions we learn from Bishop Stock, who tells us that, 'in 1712, the principles inculcated in Mr. Locke's *Two Treatises on Government* seem to have turned Berkeley's attention to the doctrine of Passive Obedience; in support of which he printed the substance of three Commonplaces, delivered by him that year in the College-chapel, a work which afterwards had nearly done him some injury in his fortune. For, being presented by Mr. Molyneux to their late Majesties, then Prince and Princess of Wales [1], he was then recommended to Lord Galway for some preferment in the Church of Ireland. But Lord Galway, having heard of these discourses, represented him as a Jacobite; an impression which Mr. Molyneux took care to remove from the minds of their Highnesses, by producing the work in question, and shewing that it contained nothing but principles of loyalty to the present happy establishment.' Yet after this, in June, 1716, Charles Dering, Lord Percival's cousin, writes from Dublin, that after all that had been done by friends, 'his prospects were bad, as the Lords Justices had made a strong representation against him;' and before the end of 1716 he left England on his way to Italy.

In those years 'Passive Obedience' was associated with Jacobitism, and it is not wonderful that the *Discourse* should have raised suspicion. Two years before, Sacheverell had preached sermons on non-resistance in St. Paul's, which occasioned a trial, raised a hot controversy, and turned out a Whig ministry. But Berkeley could not be a party politician. He defended passive obedience on grounds

[1] Afterwards George II and Queen Caroline, to whom Berkeley it seems was presented in 1716.

which partisans could not understand; and his loyalty to the House of Hanover was afterwards abundantly proved. This *Discourse* illustrates his disposition to search for the grounds of human conduct and duty among the broad principles of reason, and not in local and ephemeral considerations, while it still leaves room for argument about duty in particular cases (sect. 54). In the supreme civil power and the social organisation of which it is the centre, he sees something deeper than popular caprice and Locke's arbitrary contract. Fluctuating desires of ill-instructed majorities are not with him the ultimate foundation of government; neither is this found in the claim of a monarch. Civil Government is a conception the roots of which are deeper than monarchy; deeper too than republicanism and democracy.

This *Discourse* of Berkeley's youth may be compared with his *Discourse to Magistrates*, which appeared nearly a quarter of a century later, with his *Letter to the Roman Catholics of Cloyne* during the Jacobite Rising in 1745, and especially with the Second, Third, and Fourth Dialogues in *Alciphron*.

TO THE READER

That an absolute passive obedience ought not to be paid any civil power, but that submission to Government should be measured and limited by the public good of the society; and that therefore subjects may lawfully resist the supreme authority, in those cases where the public good shall plainly seem to require it; nay, that it is their duty to do so, inasmuch as they are all under an indispensable obligation to promote the common interest:—these and the like notions, which I cannot help thinking pernicious to mankind, and repugnant to right reason, having of late years been industriously cultivated, and set in the most advantageous lights by men of parts and learning, it seemed necessary to arm the youth of our University against them, and take care they go into the world well principled;—I do not mean obstinately prejudiced in favour of a party, but, from an early acquaintance with their duty, and the clear rational grounds of it, determined to such practices as may speak them good Christians and loyal subjects.

In this view, I made three Discourses not many months since in the College-chapel[1], which some who heard them thought it might be of use to make more public: and, indeed, the false accounts that are gone abroad concerning them have made it necessary. Accordingly, I now send them into the world under the form of one entire Discourse.

To conclude: as in writing these thoughts it was my endeavour to preserve that cool and impartial temper which becomes every sincere inquirer after truth, so I heartily wish they may be read with the same disposition.

[1] [Trinity College, Dublin.]—Author.

PASSIVE OBEDIENCE

ROMANS, chap. xiii. ver. 2.

'Whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the ordinance of God.'

1. IT is not my design to inquire into the particular nature of the government and constitution of these kingdoms; much less to pretend to determine concerning the merits of the different parties now reigning in the state. Those topics I profess to lie out of my sphere, and they will probably be thought by most men improper to be treated of in an audience almost wholly made up of young persons, set apart from the business and noise of the world, for their more convenient instruction in learning and piety. But surely it is in no respect unsuitable to the circumstances of this place to inculcate and explain every branch of the Law of Nature; or those virtues and duties which are equally binding in every kingdom or society of men under heaven. And of this kind I take to be that Christian Duty of not resisting the supreme Power, implied in my text—'Whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the ordinance of God.'

In treating on which words I shall observe the following method:—

2. First, I shall endeavour to prove that there is an absolute unlimited non-resistance, or passive obedience, due to the supreme civil power, wherever placed in any nation [1].

Secondly, I shall inquire into the grounds and reasons of the contrary opinion [2].

Thirdly, I shall consider the objections drawn from the pretended consequences of non-resistance to the supreme power [3].

[1] Sect. 4-32. [2] Sect. 33-40. [3] Sect. 41-56.

In handling these points[1] I intend not to build on the authority of Holy Scripture, but altogether on the Principles of Reason common to all mankind; and that, because there are some very rational and learned men, who, being verily persuaded an absolute passive subjection to any earthly power is repugnant to right reason, can never bring themselves to admit such an interpretation of Holy Scripture (however natural and obvious from the words) as shall make that a part of Christian religion which seems to them in itself manifestly absurd, and destructive of the original inherent rights of human nature.

3. I do not mean to treat of that submission which men are, either in duty or prudence, obliged to pay inferior or executive powers; neither shall I consider where or in what persons the supreme or legislative power is lodged in this or that government. Only thus much I shall take for granted: that there is in every civil community, somewhere or other, placed a Supreme Power of making laws, and enforcing the observation of them. The fulfilling of those laws, either by a punctual performance of what is enjoined in them, or, if that be inconsistent with reason or conscience, by a patient submission to whatever penalties the supreme power hath annexed to the neglect or transgression of them, is termed *loyalty*; as, on the other hand, the making use of force and open violence, either to withstand the execution of the laws, or ward off the penalties appointed by the supreme power, is properly named *rebellion*.

Now, to make it evident that every degree of rebellion is criminal in the subject, I shall, in the first place, endeavour to prove that Loyalty is a natural or moral duty; and Disloyalty, or Rebellion, in the most strict and proper sense, a vice or breach of the law of nature. And, secondly, I propose to shew that the prohibitions of vice, or negative precepts of the law of nature, as, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, Thou shalt not resist the supreme power,' and the like, ought to be taken in a most absolute, necessary, and immutable sense: inso-

[1] The three parts into which this *Discourse* is thus divided probably correspond to the 'three discourses made in the college chapel, here sent into the world as one Discourse.'

much that the attainment of the greatest good, or deliverance from the greatest evil, that can befal any man or number of men in this life, may not justify the least violation of them.

First then, I am to shew that Loyalty is a moral duty, and Disloyalty or Rebellion, in the most strict and proper sense, a vice, or breach of the Law of Nature[1].

4. Though it be a point agreed amongst all wise men, that there are certain moral rules or laws of nature, which carry with them an eternal and indispensable obligation; yet, concerning the proper methods for discovering those laws, and distinguishing them from others dependent on the humour and discretion of men, there are various opinions. Some direct us to look for them in the Divine Ideas; others in the natural inscriptions on the mind: some derive them from the authority of learned men, and the universal agreement and consent of nations: lastly, others hold that they are only to be discovered by the deductions of reason. The three first methods must be acknowledged to labour under great difficulties; and the last has not, that I know, been anywhere distinctly explained, or treated of so fully as the importance of the subject doth deserve.

I hope therefore it will be pardoned, if, in a discourse of passive obedience, in order to lay the foundation of that duty the deeper, we make some inquiry into the origin, nature, and obligation of moral duties in general, and the criterions whereby they are to be known.

5. Self-love being a principle of all others the most universal, and the most deeply engraven in our hearts, it is natural for us to regard things as they are fitted to augment or impair our own happiness; and accordingly we denominate them *good* or *evil*. Our judgment is ever employed in distinguishing between these two; and it is the whole business of our lives to endeavour, by a proper application of our faculties, to procure the one and avoid the other. At our first coming into the world, we are

[1] Sect. 4-25.

entirely guided by the impressions of sense; sensible pleasure being the infallible characteristic of present good, as pain is of evil. But, by degrees, as we grow up in our acquaintance with the nature of things, experience informs us that present good is afterwards often attended with a greater evil; and, on the other side, that present evil is not less frequently the occasion of procuring to us a greater future good. Besides, as the nobler faculties of the human soul begin to display themselves, they discover to us goods far more excellent than those which affect the senses[1]. Hence an alteration is wrought in our judgments; we no longer comply with the first solicitations of sense, but stay to consider the remote consequences of an action; what good may be hoped, or what evil feared from it, according to the wonted course of things. This obliges us frequently to overlook present momentary enjoyments, when they come in competition with greater and more lasting goods; though too far off, or of too refined a nature to affect our senses.

6. But, as the whole Earth and the entire duration of those perishing things contained in it is altogether inconsiderable, or, in the prophet's expressive style, 'less than nothing' in respect of Eternity, who sees not that every reasonable man ought so to frame his actions as that they may most effectually contribute to promote his eternal interest? And, since it is a truth, evident by the light of nature, that there is a sovereign omniscient Spirit, who alone can make us for ever happy, or for ever miserable; it plainly follows that a conformity to His will, and not any prospect of temporal advantage, is the sole rule whereby every man who acts up to the principles of reason must govern and square his actions. The same conclusion doth likewise evidently result from the relation which God bears to His creatures. God alone is maker and preserver of all things. He is, therefore, with the most undoubted right, the great legislator of the world; and mankind are, by all the ties of duty, no less than interest, bound to obey His laws.

7. Hence we should above all things endeavour to trace out the Divine will, or the general design of Providence with regard to mankind, and the methods most directly

[1] Cf. *Alciphron*, Dial. I. sect. 14–16; II. sect. 13–16.

tending to the accomplishment of that design. And this seems the genuine and proper way for discovering the laws of nature. For, laws being rules directive of our actions to the end intended by the legislator, in order to attain the knowledge of God's laws, we ought first to inquire what that end is which He designs should be carried on by human actions. Now, as God is a being of infinite goodness, it is plain the end He proposes is good. But, God enjoying in Himself all possible perfection, it follows that it is not His own good, but that of His creatures. Again, the moral actions of men are entirely terminated within themselves, so as to have no influence on the other orders of intelligences or reasonable creatures; the end therefore to be procured by them can be no other than the good of men. But, as nothing in a natural state can entitle one man more than another to the favour of God, except only moral goodness; which, consisting in a conformity to the laws of God, doth presuppose the being of such laws, and law ever supposing an end, to which it guides our actions—it follows that, antecedent to the end proposed by God, no distinction can be conceived between men: that end therefore itself, or general design of Providence, is not determined or limited by any respect of persons. It is not therefore the private good of this or that man, nation, or age, but the general well-being of all men, of all nations, of all ages of the world, which God designs should be procured by the concurring actions of each individual[1].

Having thus discovered the great end to which all moral obligations are subordinate, it remains that we inquire what methods are necessary for the obtaining that end.

8. The well-being of mankind must necessarily be carried on in one of these two ways:—Either, first, without the injunction of any certain universal rules of morality; only by obliging every one, upon each particular occasion, to consult the public good, and always to do that which to him shall seem, in the present time and circumstances, most to conduce to it: or, secondly, by enjoining the

[1] In this and the two preceding sections we have the germs of Berkeley's ethical theory.

observation of some determinate, established laws, which, if universally practised, have, from the nature of things, an essential fitness to procure the well-being of mankind; though, in their particular application, they are sometimes, through untoward accidents, and the perverse irregularity of human wills, the occasions of great sufferings and misfortunes, it may be, to very many good men.

Against the former of these methods there lie several strong objections. For brevity I shall mention only two :—

9. First, it will thence follow that the best men, for want of judgment, and the wisest, for want of knowing all the hidden circumstances and consequences of an action, may very often be at a loss how to behave themselves; which they would not be, in case they judged of each action by comparing it with some particular precept, rather than by examining the good or evil which in that single instance it tends to procure: it being far more easy to judge with certainty, whether such or such an action be a transgression of this or that precept, than whether it will be attended with more good or ill consequences. In short, to calculate the events of each particular action is impossible; and, though it were not, would yet take up too much time to be of use in the affairs of life.

Secondly, if that method be observed, it will follow that we can have no sure standard to which, comparing the actions of another, we may pronounce them good or bad, virtues or vices. For, since the measure and rule of every good man's actions is supposed to be nothing else but his own private disinterested opinion of what makes most for the public good at that juncture; and, since this opinion must unavoidably in different men, from their particular views and circumstances, be very different: it is impossible to know, whether any one instance of parricide or perjury, for example, be criminal. The man may have had his reasons for it; and that which in me would have been a heinous sin may be in him a duty. Every man's particular rule is buried in his own breast, invisible to all but himself, who therefore can only tell whether he observes it or no. And, since that rule is fitted to particular occasions, it must ever change as they do: hence it is not only various in different men, but in one and the same man at different times.

10. From all which it follows, there can be no harmony or agreement between the actions of good men: no apparent steadiness or consistency of one man with himself; no adhering to principles: the best actions may be condemned, and the most villainous meet with applause. In a word, there ensues the most horrible confusion of vice and virtue, sin and duty, that can possibly be imagined. It follows, therefore, that the great end to which God requires the concurrence of human actions must of necessity be carried on by the second method proposed, namely, the observation of certain, universal, determinate rules or moral precepts, which, in their own nature, have a necessary tendency to promote the well-being of the sum of mankind, taking in all nations and ages, from the beginning to the end of the world.

11. Hence, upon an equal comprehensive survey of the general nature, the passions, interests, and mutual respects of mankind; whatsoever practical proposition doth to right reason evidently appear to have a necessary connexion with the Universal well-being included in it, is to be looked upon as enjoined by the will of God. For, he that willeth the end doth will the necessary means conducive to that end; but it hath been shewn that God willeth the universal well-being of mankind should be promoted by the concurrence of each particular person; therefore, every such practical proposition necessarily tending thereto is to be esteemed a decree of God, and is consequently a law to man.

12. These propositions are called *laws of nature*, because they are universal, and do not derive their obligation from any civil sanction, but immediately from the Author of nature himself. They are said to be *stamped on the mind*, to be *engraven on the tables of the heart*, because they are well known to mankind, and suggested and inculcated by conscience. Lastly, they are termed *eternal rules of reason*, because they necessarily result from the nature of things, and may be demonstrated by the infallible deductions of reason [1].

[1] Berkeley speaks of 'eternal rules of reason,' and the immutability, universality, and necessity of moral distinctions — language foreign to empirical utilitarianism. His reverence for *law*, akin to Hooker, appears in these passages. But if the criterion of the 'eternal

13. And, notwithstanding that these rules are too often, either by the unhappy concurrence of events, or more especially by the wickedness of perverse men who will not conform to them, made accidental causes of misery to those good men who do, yet this doth not vacate their obligation: they are ever to be esteemed the fixed unalterable standards of moral good and evil; no private interest, no love of friends, no regard to the public good, should make us depart from them. Hence, when any doubt arises concerning the morality of an action, it is plain this cannot be determined by computing the public good which in that particular case it is attended with, but only by comparing it with the Eternal Law of Reason. He who squares his actions by this rule can never do amiss, though thereby he should bring himself to poverty, death, or disgrace: no, not though he should involve his family, his friends, his country, in all those evils which are accounted the greatest and most insupportable to human nature. Tenderness and benevolence of temper are often motives to the best and greatest actions; but we must not make them the sole rule of our actions: they are passions rooted in our nature, and, like all other passions, must be restrained and kept under, otherwise they may possibly betray us into as great enormities as any other unbridled lust. Nay, they are more dangerous than other passions, insomuch as they are more plausible, and apt to dazzle and corrupt the mind with the appearance of goodness and generosity[1].

14. For the illustration of what has been said, it will not be amiss, if from the moral we turn our eyes on the natural world. *Homo ortus est* (says Balbus in Cicero[2]) *ad mundum contemplandum, et imitandum.* And, surely, it is not possible for free intellectual agents to propose a nobler pattern for their imitation than Nature; which is nothing

laws' is their tried tendency to promote general happiness, a door is still open to questions of casuistry, in the endeavour to determine what they are.

[1] So Butler, who regards the benevolent affections as a subordinate part only of the ideal human nature, to which our actions should conform. Benevolent motives may be springs of actions that contradict immutable moral law.

[2] [*De Natura Deorum*, Lib. II. § 37.]—Author.

else but a series of free actions, produced by the best and wisest Agent[1]. But, it is evident that those actions are not adapted to particular views, but all conformed to certain general rules, which, being collected from observation, are by philosophers termed laws of nature. And these indeed are excellently suited to promote the general well-being of the creation: but, what from casual combinations of events[2], and what from the voluntary motions of animals[3], it often falls out, that the natural good not only of private men but of entire cities and nations would be better promoted by a particular suspension, or contradiction, than an exact observation of those laws. Yet, for all that, nature still takes its course; nay, it is plain that plagues, famines, inundations, earthquakes, with an infinite variety of pains and sorrows—in a word, all kinds of calamities public and private, do arise from a uniform steady observation of those General Laws which are once established by the Author of Nature, and which He will not change or deviate from upon any of those accounts, how wise or benevolent soever it may be thought by foolish men to do so[4]. As for the miracles recorded in Scripture, they were always wrought for confirmation of some doctrine or mission from God, and not for the sake of the particular natural goods, as health or life, which some men might have reaped from them[5]. From all which it seems sufficiently plain that we cannot be at a loss which way to determine, in case we think God's own methods the properest to obtain His ends, and that it is our duty to copy after them, so far as the frailty of our nature will permit.

15. Thus far in general, of the nature and necessity of

[1] In the second clause of this sentence we have a glimpse of Berkeley's philosophy, according to which the material universe is simply a procession of sense-presented appearances, which, in their uniform and therefore interpretable co-existences and successions, express Reason and Will. Cf. *Principles of Human Knowledge*, sect. 26–32; *Dialogues of Hylas and Philonous; De Motu; Theory of Vision Vindicated* passim; *Alciphron*, Dial. IV; *Siris* passim.

[2] 'casual combinations of events.' What are they? What does he mean by *chance*?

[3] 'voluntary motions of animals,' i. e. the issue of free agency.

[4] Cf. *Principles*, sect. 150–54.

[5] Cf. *Alciphron*, Dial. VI. and the *Sermon before the S. P. G.*

Moral Rules, and the criterion or mark whereby they may be known.

As for the particulars, from the foregoing discourse, the principal of them may without much difficulty be deduced. It hath been shewn that the Law of Nature is a system of such rules or precepts as that, if they be all of them, at all times, in all places, and by all men observed, they will necessarily promote the well-being of mankind, so far as it is attainable by human actions. Now, let any one who hath the use of reason take but an impartial survey of the general frame and circumstances of human nature, and it will appear plainly to him that the constant observation of truth, for instance, or of justice, and chastity hath a necessary connexion with their universal well-being; that, therefore, they are to be esteemed virtues or duties; and that 'Thou shalt not forswear thyself,' 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,' 'Thou shalt not steal,' are so many unalterable moral rules, which to violate in the least degree is vice or sin. I say, the agreement of these particular practical propositions with the definition or criterion premised doth so clearly result from the nature of things, that it were a needless digression, in this place, to enlarge upon it.

And, from the same principle, by the very same reasoning, it follows that Loyalty is a moral virtue, and 'Thou shalt not resist the Supreme Power' a rule or law of nature, the least breach whereof hath the inherent stain of moral turpitude.

16. The miseries inseparable from a state of anarchy are easily imagined. So insufficient is the wit or strength of any single man, either to avert the evils, or procure the blessings of life, and so apt are the wills of different persons to contradict and thwart each other, that it is absolutely necessary several independent powers be combined together, under the direction (if I may so speak) of one and the same will—I mean the Law of the Society. Without this there is no politeness, no order, no peace, among men, but the world is one great heap of misery and confusion; the strong as well as the weak, the wise as well as the foolish, standing on all sides exposed to all those calamities which man can be liable to, in a state where he has no other security than the not being possessed of any thing which may raise envy or desire in another. A state

by so much more ineligible than that of brutes as a reasonable creature hath a greater reflexion and foresight of miseries than they. From all which it plainly follows, that Loyalty, or submission to the supreme authority, hath, if universally practised in conjunction with all other virtues, a necessary connexion with the well-being of the whole sum of mankind; and, by consequence, if the criterion we have laid down be true, it is, strictly speaking, a moral duty, or branch of natural religion. And, therefore, the least degree of Rebellion is, with the utmost strictness and propriety, a sin: not only in Christians, but also in those who have the light of reason alone for their guide. Nay, upon a thorough and impartial view, this submission will, I think, appear one of the very first and fundamental laws of nature; inasmuch as it is civil government which ordains and marks out the various relations between men, and regulates property; thereby giving scope and laying a foundation for the exercise of all other duties. And, in truth, whoever considers the condition of man will scarce conceive it possible that the practice of any one moral virtue should obtain, in the naked, forlorn state of nature.

17. But, since it must be confessed that in all cases our actions come not within the direction of certain fixed moral rules, it may possibly be still questioned, whether obedience to the Supreme Power be not one of those exempted cases; and consequently to be regulated by the prudence and discretion of every single person rather than adjusted to the rule of absolute non-resistance. I shall therefore endeavour to make it yet more plain, that 'Thou shalt not resist the Supreme Power' is an undoubted precept of morality; as will appear from the following considerations:—

First, then, submission to government is a point important enough to be established by a moral rule. Things of insignificant and trifling concern are, for that very reason, exempted from the rules of morality. But government, on which so much depend the peace, order, and well-being, of mankind, cannot surely be thought of too small importance to be secured and guarded by a moral rule. Government, I say, which is itself the principal source under heaven of those particular advantages for the

procurement and conservation whereof several unquestionable moral rules were prescribed to men.

18. Secondly, obedience to government is a case universal enough to fall under the direction of a law of nature. Numberless rules there may be for regulating affairs of great concernment, at certain junctures, and to some particular persons or societies, which, notwithstanding, are not to be esteemed moral or natural laws, but may be either totally abrogated or dispensed with; because the private ends they were intended to promote respect only some particular persons, as engaged in relations not founded in the general nature of men; who, on various occasions, and in different postures of things, may prosecute their own designs by different measures, as in human prudence shall seem convenient. But what relation is there more extensive and universal than that of *subject* and *law*? This is confined to no particular age or climate, but universally obtains, at all times, and in all places, wherever men live in a state exalted above that of brutes. It is, therefore, evident that the rule forbidding resistance to the Law or Supreme Power is not, upon pretence of any defect in point of universality, to be excluded from the number of the laws of nature.

19. Thirdly, there is another consideration which confirms the necessity of admitting this rule for a moral or natural law: namely, because the case it regards is of too nice and difficult a nature to be left to the judgment and determination of each private person. Some cases there are so plain and obvious to judge of that they may safely be trusted to the prudence of every reasonable man. But in all instances to determine, whether a civil law is fitted to promote the public interest; or whether submission or resistance will prove most advantageous in the consequence; or when it is that the general good of a nation may require an alteration of government, either in its form, or in the hands which administer it;—these are points too arduous and intricate, and which require too great a degree of parts, leisure, and liberal education, as well as disinterestedness and thorough knowledge in the particular state of a kingdom, for every subject to take upon him the determination of them. From which it follows that, upon this account also, Non-resistance, which

in the main, nobody can deny to be a most profitable and wholesome duty, ought not to be limited by the judgment of private persons to particular occasions, but esteemed a most sacred law of nature.

20. The foregoing arguments do, I think, make it manifest, that the precept against Rebellion is on a level with other moral rules. Which will yet further appear from this fourth and last consideration. It cannot be denied that right reason doth require some common stated rule or measure, whereby subjects ought to shape their submission to the Supreme Power; since any clashing or disagreement in this point must unavoidably tend to weaken and dissolve the society. And it is unavoidable that there should be great clashing, where it is left to the breast of each individual to suit his fancy with a different measure of obedience. But this common stated measure must be either the general precept forbidding resistance, or else the public good of the whole nation; which last, though it is allowed to be in itself something certain and determinate, yet, forasmuch as men can regulate their conduct only by what appears to them, whether in truth it be what it appears or no; and, since the prospects men form to themselves of a country's public good are commonly as various as its landscapes, which meet the eye in several situations: it clearly follows, that to make the public good the rule of obedience is, in effect, not to establish any determinate, agreed, common measure of loyalty, but to leave every subject to the guidance of his own particular mutable fancy.

21. From all which arguments and considerations it is a most evident conclusion, that the law prohibiting Rebellion is in strict truth a law of nature, universal reason, and morality. But to this it will perhaps be objected by some that, whatever may be concluded with regard to resistance from the tedious deductions of reason, yet there is I know not what turpitude and deformity in some actions, which at first blush shews them to be vicious; but they, not finding themselves struck with such a sensible and immediate horror at the thought of Rebellion, cannot think it on a level with other crimes against nature. To which I answer:—that it is true, there are certain natural antipathies implanted in the soul, which are ever the most

lasting and insurmountable; but, as custom is a second nature, whatever aversions are from our early childhood continually infused into the mind give it so deep a stain as is scarce to be distinguished from natural complexion. And, as it doth hence follow, that to make all the inward horrors of soul pass for infallible marks of sin were the way to establish error and superstition in the world; so, on the other hand, to suppose all actions lawful which are unattended with those starts of nature would prove of the last dangerous consequence to virtue and morality. For, these pertaining to us as men, we must not be directed in respect of them by any emotions in our blood and spirits, but by the dictates of sober and impartial reason. And if there be any who find they have a less abhorrence of Rebellion than of other villanies, all that can be inferred from it is, that this part of their duty was not so much reflected on, or so early and frequently inculcated into their hearts, as it ought to have been. Since without question there are other men who have as thorough an aversion for that as for any other crime[1].

22. Again, it will probably be objected that submission to government differs from moral duties in that it is founded in a contract[2], which, upon the violation of its conditions, doth of course become void, and in such case Rebellion is lawful: it hath not therefore the nature of a sin or crime, which is in itself absolutely unlawful, and must be committed on no pretext whatsoever. Now, passing over all inquiry and dispute concerning the first obscure rise of government, I observe its being founded on a contract may be understood in a twofold sense:—either, first, that several independent persons, finding the insufferable inconvenience of a state of anarchy, where every one was governed by his own will, consented and agreed together to pay an absolute submission to the

[1] ['Il disoit ordinairement qu'il avoit un aussi grand éloignement pour ce péché là que pour assassiner le monde, ou pour voler sur les grands chemins, et qu'enfin il n'y avoit rien qui fût plus contraire a son naturel.' He (Mr. Pascal) used to say he had as great an abhorrence of rebellion as of murder, or robbing on the highway, and that there was nothing more shocking to his nature.—*Vide M. Pascal*, p. 44.]—Author. This is a solitary reference to Pascal by Berkeley.

[2] Cf. Locke's *Treatise on Government*, Bk. II. ch. 8.

decrees of some certain legislative; which, though sometimes they may bear hard on the subject, yet must surely prove easier to be governed by than the violent humours and unsteady opposite wills of a multitude of savages. And, in case we admit such a compact to have been the original foundation of civil government, it must even on that supposition be held sacred and inviolable.

23. Or, secondly, it is meant that subjects have contracted with their respective sovereigns or legislators to pay, not an absolute, but conditional and limited, submission to their laws; that is, upon condition, and so far forth, as the observation of them shall contribute to the public good: reserving still to themselves a right of superintending the laws, and judging whether they are fitted to promote the public good or no; and (in case they or any of them think it needful) of resisting the higher powers, and changing the whole frame of government by force: which is a right that all mankind, whether single persons or societies, have over those that are deputed by them. But, in this sense, a contract cannot be admitted for the ground and measure of civil obedience, except one of these two things be clearly shewn:—either, first, that such a contract is an express known part of the fundamental constitution of a nation, equally allowed and unquestioned by all as the common law of the land; or, secondly, if it be not express, that it is at least necessarily implied in the very nature or notion of civil polity, which supposes it is a thing manifestly absurd, that a number of men should be obliged to live under an unlimited subjection to civil law, rather than continue wild and independent of each other. But to me it seems most evident that neither of those points will ever be proved.

24. And till they are proved beyond all contradiction, the doctrine built upon them ought to be rejected with detestation. Since, to represent the higher powers as deputies of the people manifestly tends to diminish that awe and reverence which all good men should have for the laws and government of their country. And to speak of a condition, limited loyalty, and I know not what vague and undetermined contracts, is a most effectual means to loosen the bands of civil society; than which nothing can be of more mischievous consequence to mankind.

But, after all, if there be any man who either cannot or will not see the absurdity and perniciousness of those notions, he would, I doubt not, be convinced with a witness, in case they should once become current, and every private man take it in his head to believe them true, and put them in practice.

25. But there still remains an objection which hath the appearance of some strength against what has been said. Namely, that, whereas civil polity is a thing entirely of human institution, it seems contrary to reason to make submission to it part of the law of nature, and not rather of the civil law. For, how can it be imagined that nature should dictate or prescribe a natural law about a thing which depends on the arbitrary humour of men, not only as to its kind or form, which is very various and mutable, but even as to its existence; there being no where to be found a civil government set up by nature.—In answer to this, I observe, first, that most moral precepts do presuppose some voluntary actions, or pacts of men, and are nevertheless esteemed laws of nature. Property is assigned, the signification of words ascertained, and matrimony contracted, by the agreement and consent of mankind; and, for all that, it is not doubted whether theft, falsehood, and adultery be prohibited by the law of nature. Loyalty, therefore, though it should suppose and be the result of human institutions, may, for all that, be of natural obligation.—I say, secondly, that, notwithstanding particular societies are formed by men, and are not in all places alike, as things esteemed natural are wont to be, yet there is implanted in mankind a natural tendency or disposition to a social life. I call it *natural*, because it is universal, and because it necessarily results from the differences which distinguish man from beast; the peculiar wants, appetites, faculties, and capacities of man being exactly calculated and framed for such a state, insomuch that without it it is impossible he should live in a condition in any degree suitable to his nature. And, since the bond and cement of society is a submission to its laws, it plainly follows that this duty hath an equal right with any other to be thought a law of nature. And surely that precept which enjoins obedience to civil laws cannot itself, with any propriety, be accounted a civil

law; it must therefore either have no obligation at all on the conscience, or, if it hath, it must be derived from the universal voice of nature and reason.

26. And thus the first point proposed seems clearly made out:—namely, that Loyalty is a virtue or moral duty; and Disloyalty or Rebellion, in the most strict and proper sense, a vice or crime against the law of nature.

We are now come to the second point, which was to shew[1] that the prohibitions of vice, or negative precepts of morality, are to be taken in a most absolute, necessary, and immutable sense; insomuch that the attainment of the greatest good, or deliverance from the greatest evil, that can befal any man or number of men in this life may not justify the least violation of them.—But, in the first place, I shall explain the reason of distinguishing between positive and negative precepts, the latter only being included in this general proposition. Now, the ground of that distinction may be resolved into this: namely, that very often, either through the difficulty or number of moral actions, or their inconsistence with each other, it is not possible for one man to perform several of them at the same time; whereas it is plainly consistent and possible that any man should, at the same time, abstain from all manner of positive actions whatsoever. Hence it comes to pass that prohibitions or negative precepts must by every one, in all times and places, be all actually observed: whereas those which enjoin the doing of an action allow room for human prudence and discretion in the execution of them: it is for the most part depending on various accidental circumstances; all which ought to be considered, and care taken that duties of less moment do not interfere with, and hinder the fulfilling of those which are more important. And, for this reason, if not the positive laws themselves, at least the exercise of them, admits of suspension, limitation, and diversity of degrees. As to the indispensableness of the negative precepts of the law of nature, I shall in its proof offer two arguments; the first from the nature of the thing, and the second from the imitation of God in His government of the world.

[1] Sect. 26-32.

27. First, then, from the nature of the thing it hath been already shewn that the great end of morality can never be carried on, by leaving each particular person to promote the public good in such a manner as *he* shall think most convenient; without prescribing certain determinate universal rules, to be the common measure of moral actions. And, if we allow the necessity of these, and at the same time think it lawful to transgress them whenever the public good shall seem to require it, what is this but in words indeed to enjoin the observation of moral rules, but in effect to leave every one to be guided by his own judgment? Than which nothing can be imagined more pernicious and destructive to mankind, as hath been already proved. Secondly, this same point may be collected from the example set us by the Author of Nature, who, as we have above observed[1], acts according to certain fixed laws; which He will not transgress upon the account of accidental evils arising from them. Suppose a prince on whose life the welfare of a kingdom depends to fall down a precipice, we have no reason to think that the universal law of gravitation would be suspended in that case. The like may be said of all other laws of nature, which we do not find to admit of exceptions on particular accounts.

28. And as, without such a steadiness in nature[2], we should soon, instead of this beautiful frame, see nothing but a disorderly and confused chaos; so, if once it become current that the moral actions of men are not to be guided by certain definite inviolable rules, there will be no longer found that beauty, order, and agreement in the system of rational beings, or moral world, which will then be all covered over with darkness and violence. It is true, he who stands close to a palace can hardly make a right judgment of the architecture and symmetry of its several parts, the nearer ever appearing disproportionably great. And, if we have a mind to take a fair prospect of the order and general well-being which the inflexible laws of nature and morality derive on the world, we must, if I may so say, go out of it, and imagine ourselves to be distant spectators of all that is transacted and contained

[1] Sect. 14.

[2] Cf. *Principles*, sect. 30–32.

in it; otherwise we are sure to be deceived by the too near view of the little present interests of ourselves, our friends, or our country [1].

The right understanding of what hath been said will, I think, afford a clear solution to the following difficulties:—

29. First, it may perhaps seem to some that, in consequence of the foregoing doctrine, men will be left to their own private judgments as much as ever. For, first, the very being of the laws of nature; secondly, the criterion whereby to know them; and, thirdly, the agreement of any particular precept with that criterion, are all to be discovered by reason and argumentation, in which every man doth necessarily judge for himself: hence, upon that supposition, there is place for as great confusion, unsteadiness, and contrariety of opinions and actions as upon any other. I answer, that however men may differ as to what were most proper and beneficial to the public to be done or omitted on particular occasions, when they have for the most part narrow and interested views; yet, in general conclusions, drawn from an equal and enlarged view of things, it is not possible there should be so great, if any, disagreement at all amongst candid rational inquirers after truth.

30. Secondly, the most plausible pretence of all against the doctrine we have premised, concerning a rigid indispensable observation of moral rules, is that which is founded on the consideration of the public weal [2]. For, since the common good of mankind is confessedly the end which God requires should be promoted by the free actions of men, it may seem to follow that all good men ought ever to have this in view, as the great mark to which all their endeavours should be directed: if, therefore, in any particular case, a strict keeping to the moral rule shall prove manifestly inconsistent with the public good, it may be thought agreeable to the will of God that in that case the rule does restrain an honest disinterested person from acting for that end to which the rule itself was ordained. For, it is an axiom that 'the end is more

[1] Cf. *Guardian*, No. 70, 83.
[2] See Locke's *Treatise on Government*, Bk. II. ch. 19.

excellent than the means,' which, deriving their goodness from the end, may not come in competition with it.

31. In answer to this, let it be observed, that nothing is a law merely because it conduceth to the public good, but because it is decreed by the will of God, which alone can give the sanction of a law of nature to any precept; neither is any thing, how expedient or plausible soever, to be esteemed lawful on any other account than its being coincident with, or not repugnant to, the laws promulgated by the voice of nature and reason. It must indeed be allowed that the rational deduction of those laws is founded in the intrinsic tendency they have to promote the well-being of mankind, on condition they are universally and constantly observed. But, though it afterwards comes to pass that they accidentally fail of that end, or even promote the contrary; they are nevertheless binding, as hath been already proved. In short, that whole difficulty may be resolved by the following distinction:— In framing the general laws of nature, it is granted we must be entirely guided by the public good of mankind, but not in the ordinary moral actions of our lives. Such a rule, if universally observed, hath, from the nature of things, a necessary fitness to promote the general well-being of mankind: therefore it is a law of nature. This is good reasoning. But if we should say, such an action doth in this instance produce much good, and no harm to mankind; therefore it is lawful: this were wrong. The rule is framed with respect to the good of mankind; but our practice must be always shaped immediately by the rule. They who think the public good of a nation to be the sole measure of the obedience due to the civil power seem not to have considered this distinction.

32. If it be said that some negative precepts, e.g. 'Thou shalt not kill,' do admit of limitation, since otherwise it were unlawful for the magistrate, for a soldier in a battle, or for a man in his own defence, to kill another; I answer, when a duty is expressed in too general terms, as in this instance, in order to a distinct declaration of it, either those terms may be changed for others of a more limited sense, as *kill* for *murder*; or else, from the general proposition remaining in its full latitude, exceptions may be made of those precise cases which, not agreeing with

the notion of murder, are not prohibited by the law of nature. In the former case there is a limitation; but it is only of the signification of a single term, too general and improper, by substituting another, more proper and particular, in its place. In the latter case there are exceptions; but then they are not from the law of nature, but from a more general proposition, which, besides that law, includes somewhat more, which must be taken away in order to leave the law by itself clear and determinate. From neither of which concessions will it follow that any negative law of nature is limited to those cases only where its particular application promotes the public good, or admits all other cases to be excepted from it wherein its being actually observed produceth harm to the public. But of this I shall have occasion to say more in the sequel.

I have now done with the first head, which was to shew that there is an absolute, unlimited, passive obedience due to the Supreme Power, wherever placed in any nation; and come to inquire into the grounds and reasons of the contrary opinion. Which was the second thing proposed [1].

33. One great principle which the pleaders for resistance make the ground-work of their doctrine is, that the law of self-preservation is prior to all other engagements, being the very first and fundamental law of nature [2]. Hence, say they, subjects are obliged by nature, and it is their duty, to resist the cruel attempts of tyrants, however authorised by unjust and bloody laws; which are nothing else but the decrees of men, and consequently must give way to those of God or Nature. But perhaps, if we narrowly examine this notion, it will not be found so just and clear as some men may imagine, or, indeed, as at first sight it seems to be. For, we ought to distinguish between a twofold signification of the terms *law of nature*; which words do either denote a rule or precept for the direction of the voluntary actions of reasonable agents; and in that sense they imply a duty: or else they are used to signify any general rule which we observe to obtain in the works

[1] Sect. 33–40.

[2] So Locke in his *Treatise on Government*, e. g. Bk. II. ch. 19.

of nature, independent of the wills of men; in which sense no duty is implied. And, in this last acceptation, I grant it is a general law of nature, that in every animal there be implanted a desire of self-preservation; which, though it is the earliest, the deepest, and most lasting of all, whether natural or acquired appetites, yet cannot with any propriety be termed a moral duty. But if, in the former sense of the words, they mean that self-preservation is the first and most fundamental law of nature, which therefore must take place of all other natural or moral duties, I think that assertion to be manifestly false; for this plain reason, because it would thence follow, a man may lawfully commit any sin whatsoever to preserve his life, than which nothing can be more absurd.

34. It cannot indeed be denied that the law of nature restrains us from doing those things which may injure the life of any man, and consequently our own. But, notwithstanding all that is said of the obligativeness and priority of the law of self-preservation, yet, for aught I can see, there is no particular law which obliges any man to prefer his own temporal good, not even life itself, to that of another man, much less to the observation of any one moral duty. This is what we are too ready to perform of our own accord; and there is more need of a law to curb and restrain, than there is of one to excite and inflame our self-love.

35. But, secondly, though we should grant the duty of self-preservation to be the first and most necessary of all the positive or affirmative laws of nature; yet, forasmuch as it is a maxim allowed by all moralists, that 'evil is never to be committed, to the end good may come of it,' it will thence plainly follow that no negative precept ought to be transgressed for the sake of observing a positive one. And therefore, since we have shewn, 'Thou shalt not resist the supreme power,' to be a negative law of nature, it is a necessary consequence that it may not be transgressed under pretence of fulfilling the positive duty of self-preservation.

36. A second erroneous ground of our adversaries, whereon they lay a main stress, is that they hold the public good of a particular nation to be the measure of the obedience due from the subject to the civil power, which

therefore may be resisted whensoever the public good shall verily seem to require it. But this point hath been already considered; and in truth it can give small difficulty to whoever understands Loyalty to be on the same foot with other moral duties enjoined in negative precepts; all which, though equally calculated to promote the general well-being, may not nevertheless be limited or suspended, under pretext of giving way to the end, as is plain from what hath been premised on that subject.

37. A third reason which they insist on is to this effect:—All civil authority or right is derived originally from the people; but nobody can transfer that to another which he hath not himself; therefore, since no man hath an absolute unlimited right over his own life, the subject cannot transfer such a right to the prince (or supreme power), who consequently hath no such unlimited right to dispose of the lives of his subjects. In case, therefore, a subject resist his prince, who, acting according to law, maketh an unjust, though legal, attempt on his life, he does him no wrong; since wrong it is not, to prevent another from seizing what he hath no right to: whence it should seem to follow that, agreeably to reason, the prince, or supreme power wheresoever placed, may be resisted. Having thus endeavoured to state their argument in its clearest light, I make this answer:—First, it is granted, no civil power hath an unlimited right to dispose of the life of any man. Secondly, in case one man resist another invading that which he hath no right to, it is granted he doth him no wrong. But, in the third place, I deny that it doth thence follow, the supreme power may consonantly to reason be resisted; because that, although such resistance wronged not the prince or supreme power wheresoever placed, yet it were injurious to the Author of Nature, and a violation of His law, which reason obligeth us to transgress upon no account whatsoever, as hath been demonstrated.

38. A fourth mistake or prejudice which influenceth the impugners of non-resistance arises from the natural dread of slavery, chains, and fetters, which inspires them with an aversion for any thing, which even metaphorically comes under those denominations. Hence they cry out against us that we would deprive them of their natural

freedom, that we are making chains for mankind, that we are for enslaving them, and the like. But, how harsh soever the sentence may appear, yet it is most true, that our appetites, even the most natural, as of ease, plenty, or life itself, must be chained and fettered by the laws of nature and reason. This slavery, if they will call it so, or subjection of our passions to the immutable decrees of reason, though it may be galling to the sensual part or the beast, yet sure I am it addeth much to the dignity of that which is peculiarly human in our composition. This leads me to the fifth fundamental error.

39. Namely, the mistaking the object of passive obedience. We should consider that when a subject endures the insolence and oppression of one or more magistrates, armed with the supreme civil power, the object of his submission is, in strict truth, nothing else but right reason; which is the voice of the Author of Nature. Think not we are so senseless as to imagine tyrants cast in a better mould than other men: no, they are the worst and vilest of men, and for their own sakes have not the least right to our obedience. But the laws of God and nature must be obeyed; and our obedience to them is never more acceptable and sincere than when it exposeth us to temporal calamities.

40. A sixth false ground of persuasion to those we argue against is their not distinguishing between the natures of positive and negative duties. For, say they, since our *active* obedience to the supreme civil power is acknowledged to be limited, why may not our duty of *non-resistance* be thought so too? The answer is plain: because positive and negative moral precepts are not of the same nature; the former admitting such limitations and exceptions as the latter are on no account liable to, as hath been already proved. It is very possible that a man, in obeying the commands of his lawful governors, might transgress some law of God contrary to them; which it is not possible for him to do merely by a patient suffering and non-resistance for conscience sake. And this furnishes such a satisfactory and obvious solution of the fore-mentioned difficulty that I am not a little surprised to see it insisted on, by men, otherwise, of good sense and reason. And so much for the grounds and reasons of the adversaries of non-resistance.

I now proceed to the third and last thing proposed, namely, the consideration of the objections drawn from the pretended consequences of non-resistance [1].

41. First, then, it will be objected that, in consequence of that notion, we must believe that God hath, in several instances, laid the innocent part of mankind under an unavoidable necessity of enduring the greatest sufferings and hardships, without any remedy; which is plainly inconsistent with the Divine wisdom and goodness: and therefore the principle from whence that consequence flows, ought not to be admitted as a law of God or nature. In answer to which I observe, we must carefully distinguish between the necessary and accidental consequences of a moral law. The former kind are those which the law is in its own nature calculated to produce, and which have an inseparable connexion with the observation of it; and indeed, if these are bad, we may justly conclude the law to be so too; and consequently not from God. But the accidental consequences of a law have no intrinsic natural connexion with, nor do they strictly speaking flow from its observation, but are the genuine result of something foreign and circumstantial, which happens to be joined with it. And these accidental consequences of a very good law may nevertheless be very bad; which badness of theirs is to be charged on their own proper and necessary cause, and not on the law, which hath no essential tendency to produce them. Now, though it must be granted that a lawgiver infinitely wise and good will constitute such laws for the regulation of human actions as have in their own nature a necessary inherent aptness to promote the common good of all mankind, and that in the greatest degree that the present circumstances and capacities of human nature will admit; yet we deny that the wisdom and goodness of the lawgiver are concerned, or may be called in question, on account of the particular evils which arise, necessarily and properly, from the transgression of some one or more good laws, and but accidentally from the observation of others. But it is plain that the several calamities and devastations which oppressive governments bring on the

[1] Sect. 41–56. Some of the objections referred to may be found in Locke.

world are not the genuine necessary effects of the law that enjoineth a passive subjection to the supreme power, neither are they included in the primary intention thereof, but spring from avarice, ambition, cruelty, revenge, and the like inordinate affections and vices raging in the breasts of governors. They may not therefore argue a defect of wisdom or goodness in God's law, but of righteousness in men.

42. Such is the present state of things, so irregular are the wills, and so unrestrained the passions, of men, that we every day see manifest breaches and violations of the laws of nature, which, being always committed in favour of the wicked, must surely be sometimes attended with heavy disadvantages and miseries on the part of those who by a firm adhesion to His laws endeavour to approve themselves in the eyes of their Creator. There are in short no rules of morality, not excepting the best, but what may subject good men to great sufferings and hardships; which necessarily follows from the wickedness of those they have to deal with, and but accidently from those good rules. And as, on the one hand, it were inconsistent with the wisdom of God, by suffering a retaliation of fraud, perjury, or the like, on the head of offenders, to punish one transgression by another: so, on the other hand, it were inconsistent with His justice to leave the good and innocent a hopeless sacrifice to the wicked. God therefore hath appointed a day of retribution in another life, and in this we have His grace and a good conscience for our support. We should not therefore repine at the Divine laws, or shew a frowardness or impatience of those transient sufferings they accidentally expose us to, which, however grating to flesh and blood, will yet seem of small moment, if we compare the littleness and fleetingness of this present world with the glory and eternity of the next[1].

43. From what hath been said, I think it is plain that the premised doctrine of non-resistance were safe, though the evils incurred thereby should be allowed never so great. But perhaps, upon a strict examination, they will be found much less than by many they are thought to be.

[1] This presupposes the supremacy of distributive justice in the universe.

The mischievous effects which are charged on that doctrine may be reduced to these two points:—First, that it is an encouragement for all governors to become tyrants, by the prospect it gives them of impunity or non-resistance. Secondly, that it renders the oppression and cruelty of those who are tyrants more insupportable and violent, by cutting off all opposition, and consequently all means of redress. I shall consider each of these distinctly.—As to the first point, either you will suppose the governors to be good or ill men. If they are good, there is no fear of their becoming tyrants. And if they are ill men, that is, such as postpone the observation to God's laws to the satisfying of their own lusts, then it can be no security to them that others will rigidly observe those moral precepts which they find themselves so prone to transgress.

44. It is indeed a breach of the law of nature for a subject, though under the greatest and most unjust sufferings, to lift up his hand against the supreme power. But it is a more heinous and inexcusable violation of it for the persons invested with the supreme power to use that power to the ruin and destruction of the people committed to their charge. What encouragement therefore can any man have to think that others will not be pushed on by the strong implanted appetite of self-preservation, to commit a crime, when he himself commits a more brutish and unnatural crime, perhaps without any provocation at all? Or is it to be imagined that they who daily break God's laws, for the sake of some little profit or transient pleasure, will not be tempted, by the love of property, liberty, or life itself, to transgress that single precept which forbids resistance to the supreme power?

45. But it will be demanded—To what purpose then is this duty of non-resistance preached, and proved, and recommended to our practice, if, in all likelihood, when things come to an extremity, men will never observe it? I answer, to the very same purpose that any other duty is preached. For, what duty is there which many, too many, upon some consideration or other, may not be prevailed on to transgress? Moralists and divines do not preach the duties of nature and religion with a view of gaining mankind to a perfect observation of them; that they know is not to be done. But, however, our pains are

answered, if we can make men less sinners than otherwise they would be; if, by opposing the force of duty to that of present interest and passion, we can get the better of some temptations, and balance others, while the greatest still remain invincible.

46. But, granting those who are invested with the supreme power to have all imaginable security that no cruel and barbarous treatment whatever could provoke their subjects to rebellion, yet I believe it may be justly questioned, whether such security would tempt them to more or greater acts of cruelty than jealousy, distrust, suspicion, and revenge may do in a state less secure.—And so far in consideration of the first point, namely, that the doctrine of non-resistance is an encouragement for governors to become tyrants.

47. The second mischievous effect it was charged with is, that it renders the oppression and cruelty of those who are tyrants more insupportable and violent, by cutting off all opposition, and consequently all means of redress. But, if things are rightly considered, it will appear that redressing the evils of government by force is at best a very hazardous attempt, and what often puts the public in a worse state than it was before. For, either you suppose the power of the rebels to be but small, and easily crushed, and then this is apt to inspire the governors with confidence and cruelty. Or, in case you suppose it more considerable, so as to be a match for the supreme power supported by the public treasure, forts, and armies, and that the whole nation is engaged in a civil war;—the certain effects of this are, rapine, bloodshed, misery, and confusion to all orders and parties of men, greater and more insupportable by far than are known under any the most absolute and severe tyranny upon earth. And it may be that, after much mutual slaughter, the rebellious party may prevail. And if they do prevail to destroy the government in being, it may be they will substitute a better in its place, or change it into better hands. And may not this come to pass without the expense, and toil, and blood of war? Is not the heart of a prince in the hand of God? May He not therefore give him a right sense of his duty, or may He not call him out of the world by sickness, accident, or the hand of some desperate

ruffian, and send a better in his stead? When I speak as of a monarchy, I would be understood to mean all sorts of government, wheresoever the supreme power is lodged. Upon the whole, I think we may close with the heathen philosopher, who thought it the part of a wise man never to attempt the change of government by force, when it could not be mended without the slaughter and banishment of his countrymen: but to sit still, and pray for better times[1]. For, this way may do, and the other may not do; there is uncertainty in both courses. The difference is that in the way of rebellion we are sure to increase the public calamities, for a time at least, though we are not sure of lessening them for the future.

48. But, though it should be acknowledged that, in the main, submission and patience ought to be recommended, yet, men will be still apt to demand, whether extraordinary cases may not require extraordinary measures; and therefore, in case the oppression be insupportable, and the prospect of deliverance sure, whether rebellion may not be allowed of? I answer, by no means. Perjury, or breach of faith, may, in some possible cases, bring great advantage to a nation, by freeing it from conditions inconsistent with its liberty and public welfare. So likewise may adultery, by procuring a domestic heir, prevent a kingdom's falling into the hands of a foreign power, which would in all probability prove its ruin. Yet, will any man say, the extraordinary nature of those cases can take away the guilt of perjury and adultery[2]? This is

[1] [Plato in Epist. vii.]—AUTHOR. The passage referred to is the following:—*Λέγειν μέν, εἰ μὴ καλῶς αὐτῷ φαίνοιτο πολιτεύεσθαι, εἰ μέλλοι μήτε ματαίως ἐρεῖν, μήτε ἀποθανεῖσθαι λέγων, βίαν δὲ πατρίδι πολιτείας μεταβολῆς μὴ προσφέρειν, ὅταν ἄνευ φυγῆς καὶ σφαγῆς ἀνδρῶν μὴ δυνατὸν ᾖ γίγνεσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην, ἡσυχίαν δὲ ἄγοντα εὔχεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ πόλει.*

[2] [When I wrote this, I could not think any man would avow the justifying those crimes on any pretext. But I since find that an author (supposed the same who published the book entitled, *The Rights of the Christian Church*), in a *Discourse concerning Obedience to the Supreme Powers*, printed with three other discourses at London, in the year 1706, chap. iv. p. 28, speaking of Divine laws, is not ashamed to assert, 'There is no law which wholly relates to man but ceases to oblige, if, upon the infinite variety of circumstances attending human affairs, it happens to be contrary to the good of man.' So that, according to this writer, parricide, incest, or breach of faith become innocent things, if, in the

what I will not suppose. But it hath been shewn, that rebellion is as truly a crime against nature and reason as either of the foregoing; it may not therefore be justified upon any account whatever, any more than they.

49. What! must we then submit our necks to the sword? and is there no help, no refuge, against extreme tyranny established by law? In answer to this I say, in the first place, it is not to be feared that men in their wits should seek the destruction of their people, by such cruel and unnatural decrees as some are forward to suppose. I say, secondly, that, in case they should, yet most certainly the subordinate magistrates may not, nay, they ought not, in obedience to those decrees, to act any thing contrary to the express laws of God. And, perhaps, all things considered, it will be thought that representing this limitation of their active obedience, by the laws of God or nature, as a duty to the ministers of the supreme power, may prove in those extravagant supposed cases no less effectual for the peace and safety of a nation than preaching up the power of resistance to the people.

50. Further, it will probably be objected as an absurdity in the doctrine of passive obedience, that it enjoineth subjects a blind implicit submission to the decrees of other men; which is unbecoming the dignity and freedom of reasonable agents; who indeed ought to pay obedience to their superiors, but it should be a rational obedience, such as arises from a knowledge of the equity of their laws, and the tendency they have to promote the public good. To which I answer, that it is not likely a government should suffer much for want of having its laws inspected and amended by those who are not legally entitled to a share

infinite variety of circumstances, they should happen to promote (or be thought by any private person to promote) the public good. After what has been already said, I hope I need not be at any pains to convince the reader of the absurdity and perniciousness of this notion. I shall only observe, that it appears the author was led into it by a more than ordinary aversion to passive obedience; which put him upon measuring or limiting that duty, and, with equal reason, all others, by the public good, to the entire unhinging of all order and morality among men. And it must be owned the transition was very natural.]—AUTHOR.

This note was added in the third edition. The author referred to is Matthew Tindal, one of Berkeley's 'minute philosophers.' Cf. *Theory of Vision Vindicated*, sect. 2, 5, and notes by Editor.

in the management of affairs of that nature. And it must be confessed the bulk of mankind are by their circumstances and occupations so far unqualified to judge of such matters, that they must necessarily pay an implicit deference to some or other. And to whom so properly as to those invested with the supreme power?

51. There is another objection against absolute submission, which I should not have mentioned but that I find it insisted on by men of so great note as Grotius and Puffendorf[1], who think our non-resistance should be measured by the intention of those who first framed the society. Now, say they, if we suppose the question put to them, whether they meant to lay every subject under the necessity of choosing death, rather than in any case to resist the cruelty of his superiors, it cannot be imagined they would answer in the affirmative. For, this were to put themselves in a worse condition than that which they endeavoured to avoid by entering into society. For, although they were before obnoxious to the injuries of many, they had nevertheless the power of resisting them. But now they are bound, without any opposition at all, to endure the greatest injuries from those whom they have armed with their own strength. Which is by so much worse than the former state, as the undergoing an execution is worse than the hazard of a battle. But (passing by all other exceptions which this method of arguing may be liable to), it is evident that a man had better be exposed to the absolute irresistible decrees, even of one single person, whose own and posterity's true interest it is to preserve him in peace and plenty, and protect him from the injuries of all mankind beside, than remain an open prey to the rage and avarice of every wicked man upon earth, who either exceeds him in strength, or takes him at an advantage. The truth of this is confirmed, as well by the constant experience of the far greater part of the world, as by what we have already observed concerning anarchy, and the inconsistence of such a state with that manner of life which human nature requires. Hence it is plain the objection last mentioned is built on a false

[1] [Grotius *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, Lib. I. chap. iv. sect. 7; et Puffendorf *De Jure Naturæ et Gentium*, Lib. VII. cap. vii. sect. 7.]—AUTHOR.

supposition, viz. That men, by quitting the natural state of anarchy for that of absolute non-resisting obedience to government, would put themselves in a worse condition than they were in before.

52. The last objection I shall take notice of is, that, in pursuance of the premised doctrine, where no exceptions, no limitations, are to be allowed of, it should seem to follow men were bound to submit, without making any opposition, to usurpers, or even madmen, possessed of the supreme authority. Which is a notion so absurd, and repugnant to common sense, that the foundation on which it is built may justly be called in question. Now, in order to clear this point, I observe the limitation of moral duties may be understood in a twofold sense—either, first, as a distinction applied to the terms of a proposition, whereby that which was expressed before too generally is limited to a particular acceptation; and this, in truth, is not so properly limiting the duty as defining it. Or, secondly, it may be understood as a suspending the observation of a duty, for avoiding some extraordinary inconvenience, and thereby confining it to certain occasions. And in this last sense only, we have shewn negative duties not to admit of limitation. Having premised this remark, I make the following answer to the objection:—namely, that by virtue of the duty of non-resistance we are not obliged to submit the disposal of our lives and fortunes to the discretion either of madmen, or of all those who by craft or violence invade the supreme power; because the object of the submission enjoined subjects by the law of nature is, from the reason of the thing, manifestly limited so as to exclude both the one and the other. Which I shall not go about to prove, because I believe nobody has denied it. Nor doth the annexing such limits to the object of our obedience at all limit the duty itself, in the sense we except against.

53. [In morality the eternal rules of action have the same immutable universal truth with propositions in geometry. Neither of them depends on circumstances or accidents, being at all times and in all places, without limitation or exception, true. 'Thou shalt not resist the supreme civil power' is no less constant and unalterable a rule, for modelling the behaviour of a subject toward the govern-

ment, than 'multiply the height by half the base' is for measuring a triangle. And, as it would not be thought to detract from the universality of this mathematical rule that it did not exactly measure a field which was not an exact triangle, so ought it not to be thought an argument against the universality of the rule prescribing passive obedience, that it does not reach a man's practice in all cases where a government is unhinged, or the supreme power disputed. There must be a triangle, and you must use your senses to know this, before there is room for applying your mathematical rule. And there must be a civil government, and you must know in whose hands it is lodged, before the moral precept takes place. But, where the supreme power is ascertained, we should no more doubt of our submission to it, than we would doubt of the way to measure a figure we know to be a triangle[1].]

54. In the various changes and fluctuations of government, it is impossible to prevent that controversies should sometimes arise concerning the seat of the supreme power. And in such cases subjects cannot be denied the liberty of judging for themselves, or of taking part with some, and opposing others, according to the best of their judgments; all which is consistent with an exact observation of their duty, so long as, when the constitution is clear in the point, and the object of their submission undoubted, no pretext of interest, friends, or the public good, can make them depart from it. In short, it is acknowledged that the precept enjoining non-resistance is limited to particular objects, but not to particular occasions. And in this it is like all other moral negative duties, which, considered as general propositions, do admit of limitations and restrictions, in order to a distinct definition of the duty; but what is once known to be a duty of that sort can never become otherwise by any good or ill effect, circumstance, or event whatsoever. And in truth if it were not so, if there were no general inflexible rules, but all negative as well as positive duties might be dispensed with, and warpt to serve particular interests and occasions, there were an end of all morality.

[1] Section 53 was added in the third edition. It is remarkable for its strong expression of the absolute immutability of moral rules.

55. It is therefore evident that, as the observation of any other negative moral law is not to be limited to those instances only where it may produce good effects, so neither is the observation of non-resistance limited in such sort as that any man may lawfully transgress it, whensoever in his judgment the public good of his particular country shall require it. And it is with regard to this limitation *by the effects* that I speak of non-resistance as an absolute, unconditioned, unlimited duty. Which must inevitably be granted, unless one of these three things can be proved:— either, first, that non-resistance is no moral duty: or, secondly, that other negative moral duties are limited by the effects: or, lastly, that there is something peculiar in the nature of non-resistance, which necessarily subjects it to such a limitation as no other negative moral duty can admit. The contrary to each of which points, if I mistake not, hath been clearly made out.

56. I have now briefly gone through the objections drawn from the consequences of non-resistance, which was the last general head I proposed to treat of. In handling this and the other points, I have endeavoured to be as full and clear as the usual length of these discourses would permit, and throughout to consider the argument with the same indifference as I should any other part of general knowledge; being verily persuaded that men as Christians are obliged to the practice of no one moral duty which may not abide the severest test of Reason.

ESSAYS IN THE GUARDIAN

Published in 1713

NOTE

THE fourteen Essays in the *Guardian* which are here reprinted are attributed to Berkeley upon evidence which seems sufficient. *Guardian*, Nos. 3, 27, 35, 39, 49, 55, 62, 70, 77, and 126, are assigned to him by his son, Dr. George Berkeley, as well as by the annotators, who add to these Nos. 83, 88, 89. No. 69 is claimed for Berkeley in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1780). These Essays are not in any of the editions of his works prior to 1871. They must have been written during his stay in London in 1713, when the recommendation of his countrymen Swift and Steele, added to the reputation he had already gained as a metaphysician, and his personal charm, opened his way socially into the English world of letters.

Their main design was to defend Christian theism against 'free-thinkers' of the day, assumed to be materialists or atheists.

ESSAYS IN THE GUARDIAN

I

REMARKS ON COLLINS' 'DISCOURSE OF FREE-THINKING[1]'

'Quicquid est illud quod sentit, quod sapit, quod vult, quod viget, cœleste et divinum est, ob eamque rem, æternum sic necesse est.'—CICERO.

'Whatever that be which thinks, which understands, which wills, which acts, it is something celestial and divine, and, upon that account, must necessarily be eternal.'

I AM diverted from the account I was giving the town of my particular concerns, by casting my eye upon a Treatise which I could not overlook without an inexcusable negligence, and want of concern for all the civil as well as religious interests of mankind. This piece has for its title, *A Discourse of Free-thinking, occasioned by the rise and growth of a Sect called Free-thinkers*[2]. The author very methodically enters upon his argument, and says,—'By *free-thinking* I mean the use of the understanding in endeavouring to find out the meaning of any proposition whatsoever, in considering the nature of the evidence for or against it, and in judging of it according to the seeming force or weakness of the evidence.' As soon as he has delivered this definition, from which one would expect he did not design to shew a particular inclination for or against any thing before he had considered it, he gives up all title to the character of a free-thinker, with the most apparent prejudice against a body of men whom of all

[1] *Guardian*, No. 3. Saturday. March 14, 1713.

[2] By Anthony Collins—published early in 1713.

other a good man would be most careful not to violate, I mean men in holy orders. Persons who have devoted themselves to the service of God are venerable to all who fear Him; and it is a certain characteristic of a dissolute and ungoverned mind, to rail or speak disrespectfully of them in general. It is certain that in so great a crowd of men some will intrude who are of tempers very unbecoming their function; but because ambition and avarice are sometimes lodged in that bosom which ought to be the dwelling of sanctity and devotion, must this unreasonable author vilify the whole order? He has not taken the least care to disguise his being an enemy to the persons against whom he writes, nor any where granted that the institution of religious men to serve at the altar, and instruct such who are not as wise as himself, is at all necessary or desirable; but proceeds, without the least apology, to undermine their credit, and frustrate their labours. Whatever clergymen, in disputes against each other, have unguardedly uttered is here recorded in such a manner as to affect religion itself, by wresting concessions to its disadvantage from its own teachers.

If this be true, as sure any man that reads the *Discourse* must allow it is, and if religion is the strongest tie of human society, in what manner are we to treat this our common enemy, who promotes the growth of such a sect as he calls Free-thinkers? He that should burn a house, and justify the action, by asserting he is a free agent, would be more excusable than this author in uttering what he has from the right of a Free-thinker. But there are a set of dry, joyless, dull fellows, who want capacities and talents to make a figure amongst mankind upon benevolent and generous principles, that think to surmount their own natural meanness, by laying offences in the way of such as make it their endeavour to excel upon the received maxims and honest arts of life. If it were possible to laugh at so melancholy an affair as what hazards salvation, it would be no unpleasant inquiry to ask what satisfactions they reap, what extraordinary gratification of sense, or what delicious libertinism this sect of Free-thinkers enjoy, after getting loose of the laws which confine the passions of other men? Would it not be a matter of mirth to find, after all, that the heads of this growing sect are sober

wretches, who prate whole evenings over coffee, and have not themselves fire enough to be any further debauchèes than merely in principle? These sages of iniquity are, it seems, themselves only speculatively wicked, and are contented that all the abandoned young men of the age are kept safe from reflexion by dabbling in their rhapsodies, without tasting the pleasures for which their doctrines leave them unaccountable. Thus do heavy mortals, only to gratify a dry pride of heart, give up the interests of another world, without enlarging their gratifications in this; but it is certain there are a sort of men that can puzzle truth, but cannot enjoy the satisfaction of it. This same Free-thinker is a creature unacquainted with the emotions which possess great minds when they are turned for religion, and it is apparent that he is untouched with any such sensation as the rapture of devotion. Whatever one of these scorners may think, they certainly want parts to be devout; and a sense of piety towards heaven, as well as the sense of any thing else, is lively and warm in proportion to the faculties of the head and heart. This gentleman may be assured he has not a taste for what he pretends to decry, and the poor man is certainly more a blockhead than an atheist. I must repeat that he wants capacity to relish what true piety is; and he is as capable of writing an heroic poem as making a fervent prayer. When men are thus low and narrow in their apprehensions of things, and at the same time vain, they are naturally led to think every thing they do not understand not to be understood. Their contradiction to what is urged by others is a necessary consequence of their incapacity to receive it. The atheistical fellows who appeared the last age did not serve the devil for nought, but revelled in excesses suitable to their principles; while in these unhappy days mischief is done for mischief's sake. These Free-thinkers, who lead the lives of recluse students for no other purpose but to disturb the sentiments of other men, put me in mind of the monstrous recreation of those late wild youths, who, without provocation, had a wantonness in stabbing and defacing those they met with. When such writers as this, who has no spirit but that of malice, pretend to inform the age, mohocks and cut-throats may well set up for wits and men of pleasure.

It will be perhaps expected, that I should produce some instances of the ill intention of this Free-thinker, to support the treatment I here give him. In his 52nd page he says:—

'2ndly. The priests throughout the world differ about scriptures, and the authority of scriptures. The Bramins have a book of scripture called the Shaster. The Persees have their Zundavastao. The Bonzes of China have books written by the disciples of Fo-he, whom they call the "God and Saviour of the world, who was born to teach the way of salvation, and to give satisfaction for all men's sins." The Talapoins of Siam have a book of scripture written by Sommonocodom, who, the Siamese say, was "born of a virgin," and was "the God expected by the universe." The Dervises have their Alcoran.'

I believe there is no one will dispute the author's great impartiality in setting down the accounts of these different religions. And I think it is pretty evident he delivers the matter with an air which betrays that the history of 'one born of a virgin' has as much authority with him from St. Sommonocodom as from St. Matthew. Thus he treats revelation. Then, as to philosophy, he tells you, p. 136, Cicero produces this as an instance of a probable opinion,—'that they who study philosophy do not believe there are any Gods;' and then, from consideration of various notions, he affirms Tully concludes,—'that there can be nothing after death.'

As to what he misrepresents of Tully, the short sentence on the head of this paper is enough to oppose; but who can have patience to reflect upon the assemblage of impostures among which our author places the religion of his country? As for my part, I cannot see any possible interpretation to give this work, but a design to subvert and ridicule the authority of Scripture. The peace and tranquillity of the nation, and regards even above those, are so much concerned in this matter that it is difficult to express sufficient sorrow for the offender, or indignation against him. But if ever man deserved to be denied the common benefits of air and water, it is the author of *A Discourse of Free-thinking*[1].

[1] The following letter, signed *Misatheus*, appeared in the *Guardian*, No. 9, Saturday, March 21, 1713: it has been conjectured that

II

NATURAL GROUNDS TO EXPECT A FUTURE STATE[1]

'Multa putans, sortemque animo miseratus iniquam.'
VIRG. *Æn.* 6. v. 332.

'Struck with compassion of so sad a state.'

IN compassion to those gloomy mortals who by their unbelief are rendered incapable of feeling those impressions of joy and hope which the celebration of the late glorious festival[2] naturally leaves on the mind of a Christian, I shall in this paper endeavour to evince that there are grounds to expect a Future State; without supposing in the reader any faith at all, not even the belief of a Deity[3]. Let the

it was written by Berkeley, on the internal evidence of its second paragraph:—referring as it does to the preceding Essay, and suggesting a new argument on the same subject:—

'To the *Guardian*.

'March 16.

'SIR,—By your paper of Saturday last you give the town hopes that you will dedicate that day to religion. You could not begin it better than by warning your pupils of the poison vended under a pretence to free-thinking. If you can spare room in your next Saturday's paper for a few lines on the same subject, these are at your disposal.

'I happened to be present at a public conversation of some of the defenders of this *Discourse of Free-thinking*, and others that differed from them; where I had the diversion of hearing the same man in one breath persuade us to freedom of thought, and in the next offer to demonstrate that we had no freedom in anything. One would think men should blush to find themselves entangled in a greater contradiction than any the *Discourse* ridicules. This principle of free fatality or necessary liberty is a worthy fundamental of the new sect; and indeed this opinion is of an evidence and clearness so nearly related to transubstantiation that the same genius seems requisite for either. It is fit the world should know how far reason abandons men that would employ it against religion; which intention, I hope, justifies this trouble from,

SIR,
Your hearty well-wisher,
MISATHEUS.'

Berkeley repeatedly alludes in his works to his personal knowledge that fatalism or atheism was openly avowed in the 'free-thinking' clubs of London.

[1] *Guardian*, No. 27, Saturday, April 11, 1713.

[2] Easter.

[3] But can one have a reasonable expectation of *any* event, either during this earthly life or in a future one, without a latent faith in God, i.e. without (by implication) postulating the absolute trust-

most steadfast unbeliever open his eyes, and take a survey of the sensible world, and then say if there be not a connexion, and adjustment, and exact and constant order discoverable in all the parts of it. Whatever be the cause, the thing itself is evident to all our faculties. Look into the animal system, the passions, senses, and locomotive powers;—is not the like contrivance and propriety observable in these too? Are they not fitted to certain ends, and are they not by nature directed to proper objects?

Is it possible then that the smallest bodies should, by a management superior to the wit of man, be disposed in the most excellent manner agreeable to their respective natures; and yet the spirits or souls of men be neglected, or managed by such rules as fall short of man's understanding? Shall every other passion be rightly placed by nature, and shall that appetite of Immortality, natural to all mankind, be alone misplaced, or designed to be frustrated? Shall the industrious application of the inferior animal powers in the meanest vocations be answered by the ends we propose, and shall not the generous efforts of a virtuous mind be rewarded? In a word, shall the corporeal world be all order and harmony, the intellectual discord and confusion? He who is bigot enough to believe these things must bid adieu to that natural rule of 'reasoning from analogy;' must run counter to that maxim of common sense, 'That men ought to form their judgments of things unexperienced from what they have experienced.'

If any thing looks like a recompense of calamitous virtue on this side the grave, it is either an assurance that thereby we obtain the favour and protection of heaven, and shall, whatever befalls us in this, in another life meet with a just return; or else that applause and reputation which is thought to attend virtuous actions. The former of these, our free-thinkers, out of their singular wisdom and benevolence to mankind, endeavour to erase from the minds of men. The latter can never be justly distributed in this life, where so many ill actions are reputable, and so many good actions disesteemed or misinterpreted;

worthiness, and therefore omnipotent goodness, of the Power universally at work? Is it not our conception of the *character* of the Universal Power that determines *final* trust or distrust in experience?

where subtle hypocrisy is placed in the most engaging light, and modest virtue lies concealed; where the heart and the soul are hid from the eyes of men, and the eyes of men are dimmed and vitiated. Plato's sense in relation to this point is contained in his Gorgias, where he introduces Socrates speaking after this manner:—

'It was in the reign of Saturn provided by a law, which the gods have since continued down to this time, That they who had lived virtuously and piously upon earth, should after death enjoy a life full of happiness, in certain islands appointed for the habitation of the blessed: but that such as have lived wickedly should go into the receptacle of damned souls, named Tartarus, there to suffer the punishments they deserved. But in all the reign of Saturn, and in the beginning of the reign of Jove, living judges were appointed, by whom each person was judged in his life-time in the same day on which he was to die. The consequence of which was, that they often passed wrong judgments. Pluto, therefore, who presided in Tartarus, and the guardians of the blessed islands, finding that on the other side many unfit persons were sent to their respective dominions, complained to Jove, who promised to redress the evil. He added, the reason of these unjust proceedings are that men are judged in the body. Hence many conceal the blemishes and imperfections of their minds by beauty, birth and riches; not to mention that at the time of trial there are crowds of witnesses to attest their having lived well. These things mislead the judges, who being themselves also of the number of the living, are surrounded each with his own body, as with a veil thrown over his mind. For the future, therefore, it is my intention that men do not come on their trial till after death, when they shall appear before the judge, disrobed of all their corporeal ornaments. The judge himself too shall be a pure unveiled spirit, beholding the very soul, the naked soul of the party before him. With this view I have already constituted my sons, Minos and Rhadamanthus, judges, who are natives of Asia; and Æacus, a native of Europe. These, after death, shall hold their court in a certain meadow, from which there are two roads, leading the one to Tartarus, the other to the islands of "the blessed."'

From this, as from numberless other passages of his writings, may be seen Plato's opinion of a Future State. A thing therefore in regard to us so comfortable, in itself so just and excellent, a thing so agreeable to the analogy of nature, and so universally credited by all orders and ranks of men, of all nations and ages, what is it that should move a few men to reject? Surely there must be something of prejudice in the case. I appeal to the secret thoughts of a Free-thinker, if he does not argue within himself after this manner:—The senses and faculties I enjoy at present are visibly designed to repair or preserve the body from the injuries it is liable to in its present circumstances: but in an eternal state, where no decays are to be repaired, no outward injuries to be fenced against, where there are no flesh and bones, nerves or blood-vessels, there will certainly be none of the senses: and that there should be a state of life without the senses is inconceivable.

But as this manner of reasoning proceeds from a poverty of imagination and narrowness of soul in those that use it, I shall endeavour to remedy those defects, and open their views, by laying before them a case which, being naturally possible, may perhaps reconcile them to the belief of what is supernaturally revealed.

Let us suppose a person blind and deaf from his birth, who, being grown to man's estate, is, by the dead palsy or some other cause, deprived of his feeling, tasting, and smelling, and at the same time has the impediment of his hearing removed, and the film taken from his eyes. What the five senses are to us, that the touch, taste and smell were to him. And any other ways of perception, of a more refined and extensive nature, were to him as inconceivable as to us those are which will one day be adapted to perceive those things which 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive.' And it would be just as reasonable in him to conclude, that the loss of those three senses could not possibly be succeeded by any new inlets of perception, as in a modern Free-thinker to imagine there can be no state of life and perception without the senses he enjoys at present. Let us further suppose the same person's eyes, at their first opening, to be struck with a great variety of the most gay and pleasing objects, and his ears with a melodious consort

of vocal and instrumental music. Behold him amazed, ravished, transported; and you have some distant representation, some faint and glimmering idea of the ecstatic state of the soul in that article in which she emerges from this sepulchre of flesh into Life and Immortality.

N. B. It has been observed by the Christians, that a certain ingenious foreigner[1], who has published many exemplary jests for the use of persons in the article of death, was very much out of humour in a late fit of sickness, till he was in a fair way of recovery.

III

A VISIT TO THE PINEAL GLAND[2]

'O vitæ philosophia dux, virtutis indagatrix!'—CICERO.

'O philosophy, thou guide of life, and discoverer of virtue!'

To NESTOR IRONSIDE, Esq.

SIR,

'I am a man who has spent great part of that time in rambling through foreign countries which young gentlemen usually pass at the university; by which course of life, although I have acquired no small insight into the manners and conversation of men, yet I could not make proportionable advances in the way of science and speculation. In my return through France, as I was one day setting forth this my case to a certain gentleman of that nation with whom I had contracted a friendship, after some pause, he conducted me into his closet, and, opening a little amber cabinet, took from thence a small box of Snuff, which he said was given him by an uncle of his,

[1] M. Deslandes, a French Freethinker (1690–1757), who about this time came to live in England. His *Reflexions sur les Grands Hommes qui sont morts en plaisantant*, was published in London in 1713, and translated into English by Boyer, under the above title. Deslandes is also author of the *Literatum Otium*, referred to on p. 154, and of a *Histoire Critique de la Philosophie*, which appeared in 1741.

[2] *Guardian*, No. 35, Tuesday, April 21, 1713.

the author of *The Voyage to the World of Descartes*; and, with many professions of gratitude and affection, made me a present of it—telling me at the same time, that he knew no readier way to furnish and adorn a mind with knowledge in the arts and sciences than that same Snuff rightly applied.

'You must know, said he, that Descartes was the first who discovered a certain part of the brain, called by anatomists the Pineal Gland, to be the immediate receptacle of the soul, where she is affected with all sorts of perceptions, and exerts all her operations by the intercourse of the animal spirits which run through the nerves that are thence extended to all parts of the body. He added, that the same philosopher having considered the body as a machine or piece of clockwork, which performed all the vital operations without the concurrence of the will, began to think a way may be found out for separating the soul for some time from the body, without any injury to the latter; and that, after much meditation on that subject, the above-mentioned virtuoso composed the Snuff he then gave me; which, if taken in a certain quantity, would not fail to disengage my soul from my body. Your soul (continued he) being at liberty to transport herself with a thought wherever she pleases, may enter into the Pineal Gland of the most learned philosopher; and, being so placed, become spectator of all the ideas in his mind, which would instruct her in a much less time than the usual methods. I returned him thanks, and accepted his present, and with it a paper of directions.

'You may imagine it was no small improvement and diversion to pass my time in the Pineal Glands of philosophers, poets, beaux, mathematicians, ladies, and statesmen. One while, to trace a theorem in mathematics through a long labyrinth of intricate turns and subtleties of thought; another, to be conscious of the sublime ideas and comprehensive views of a philosopher, without any fatigue or wasting of my own spirits. Sometimes, to wander through perfumed groves, or enamelled meadows, in the fancy of a poet: at others, to be present when a battle or a storm raged, or a glittering palace rose in his imagination; or to behold the pleasures of a country life, the passion of a generous love, or the warmth of

devotion wrought up to rapture. Or (to use the words of a very ingenious author) to

> "Behold the raptures which a writer knows,
> When in his breast a vein of fancy glows,
> Behold his business while he works the mine,
> Behold his temper when he sees it shine[1]."

'These gave me inconceivable pleasure. Nor was it an unpleasant entertainment sometimes to descend from these sublime and magnificent ideas to the impertinences of a beau, the dry schemes of a coffee-house politician, or the tender images in the mind of a young lady. And as, in order to frame a right idea of human happiness, I thought it expedient to make a trial of the various manners wherein men of different pursuits were affected; I one day entered into the Pineal Gland of a certain person who seemed very fit to give me an insight into all that which constitutes the happiness of him who is called 'a man of pleasure.' But I found myself not a little disappointed in my notion of the pleasures which attend a voluptuary, who has shaken off the restraints of reason.

'His intellectuals, I observed, were grown unserviceable by too little use, and his senses were decayed and worn out by too much. That perfect inaction of the higher powers prevented appetite in prompting him to sensual gratifications; and the outrunning natural appetite produced a loathing instead of a pleasure. I there beheld the intemperate cravings of youth, without the enjoyments of it; and the weakness of old age, without its tranquillity. When the passions were teazed and roused by some powerful object, the effect was, not to delight or sooth the mind, but to torture it between the returning extremes of appetite and satiety. I saw a wretch racked, at the same time, with a painful remembrance of past miscarriages, a distaste of the present objects that solicit his senses, and a secret dread of futurity. And I could see no manner of relief or comfort in the soul of this miserable man, but what consisted in preventing his cure, by inflaming his passions and suppressing his reason. But, though it must be owned he had almost quenched that light which his

[1] *Essay on the Different Styles of Poetry.* It was published anonymously in 1713.

Creator had set up in his soul, yet in spite of all his efforts, I observed at certain seasons frequent flashes of remorse strike through the gloom, and interrupt that satisfaction he enjoyed in hiding his own deformities from himself.

'I was also present at the original formation or production of a certain book in the mind of a Free-thinker, and, believing it may be not unacceptable to let you into the secret manner and internal principles by which that *phænomenon* was formed, I shall in my next give you an account of it. I am, in the mean time,

'Your most obedient humble servant,

'Ulysses Cosmopolita.'

'N.B. Mr. Ironside has lately received out of France ten pound avoirdupois weight of this philosophical Snuff, and gives notice that he will make use of it, in order to distinguish the real from the professed sentiments of all persons of eminence in court, city, town, and country.'

IV

THE PINEAL GLAND OF A FREE-THINKER [1]

'——Ægri somnia.'—Hor. *Ars Poet.* v. 7.

'A sick man's dreams.'

My correspondent, who has acquired the faculty of entering into other men's thoughts, having, in pursuance to a former letter, sent me an account of certain useful discoveries he has made by the help of that invention, I shall communicate the same to the publick in this paper.

Mr. Ironside,

'On the 11th day of October, in the year 1712, having left my body locked up safe in my study, I repaired to the Grecian coffee-house, where, entering into the Pineal Gland of a certain eminent Free-thinker, I made directly to the highest part of it, which is the seat of the Understanding, expecting to find there a comprehensive know-

[1] *Guardian*, No. 39, April 25, 1713.

ledge of all things human and divine; but, to my no small astonishment, I found the place narrower than ordinary, insomuch that there was not any room for a miracle, prophecy, or separate spirit.

'This obliged me to descend a story lower, into the Imagination, which I found larger, indeed, but cold and comfortless. I discovered Prejudice in the figure of a woman standing in a corner, with her eyes close shut, and her fore-fingers stuck in her ears; many words in a confused order, but spoken with great emphasis, issued from her mouth. These being condensed by the coldness of the place, formed a sort of mist, through which methought I saw a great castle with a fortification cast round it, and a tower adjoining to it that through the windows appeared to be filled with racks and halters. Beneath the castle I could discern vast dungeons, and all about it lay scattered the bones of men. It seemed to be garrisoned by certain men in black, of gigantick size, and most terrible forms. But, as I drew near, the terror of the appearance vanished; and the castle I found to be only a church, whose steeple with its clock and bell-ropes was mistaken for a tower filled with racks and halters. The terrible Giants in black shrunk into a few innocent clergymen. The dungeons were turned into vaults designed only for the habitation of the dead; and the fortifications proved to be a churchyard, with some scattered bones in it, and a plain stone wall round it.

'I had not been long here before my curiosity was raised by a loud noise that I heard in the inferior region. Descending thither I found a mob of the Passions assembled in a riotous manner. Their tumultuary proceedings soon convinced me, that they affected a democracy. After much noise and wrangle, they at length all hearkened to Vanity, who proposed the raising of a great army of notions, which she offered to lead against those dreadful phantoms in the imagination that had occasioned all this uproar.

'Away posted Vanity, and I after her, to the storehouse of ideas; where I beheld a great number of lifeless notions confusedly thrown together, but upon the approach of Vanity they began to crawl. Here were to be seen, among other odd things, sleeping deities, corporeal spirits,

and worlds formed by chance; with an endless variety of heathen notions, the most irregular and grotesque imaginable. And with these were jumbled several of Christian extraction; but such was the dress and light they were put in, and their features were so distorted, that they looked little better than heathens. There was likewise assembled no small number of phantoms in strange habits, who proved to be idolatrous priests of different nations. Vanity gave the word, and straightway the Talopoins, Faquirs, Bramines and Bonzes drew up in a body. The right wing consisted of ancient heathen notions, and the left of Christians naturalized. All these together, for numbers, composed a very formidable army; but the precipitation of Vanity was so great, and such was their own inbred aversion to the tyranny of rules and discipline, that they seemed rather a confused rabble than a regular army. I could, nevertheless, observe, that they all agreed in a squinting look, or cast of their eyes towards a certain person in a mask, who was placed in the centre, and whom by sure signs and tokens I discovered to be Atheism.

'Vanity had no sooner led her forces into the Imagination, but she resolved upon storming the castle, and giving no quarter. They began the assault with a loud outcry and great confusion. I, for my part, made the best of my way and re-entered my own lodging. Some time after, inquiring at a bookseller's for *A Discourse on Free-thinking*, which had made some noise, I met with the representatives of all those notions drawn up in the same confused order upon paper. Sage Nestor, I am

'Your most obedient humble servant,

'Ulysses Cosmopolita.'

'N.B. I went round the table, but could not find a wit or mathematician among them.'

I imagine the account here given may be useful in directing to the proper cure of a Free-thinker. In the first place, it is plain his Understanding wants to be opened and enlarged, and he should be taught the way to order and methodise his ideas; to which end the study of the mathematics may be useful. I am farther of opinion,

that as his Imagination is filled with amusements, arising from prejudice, and the obscure or false lights in which he sees things, it will be necessary to bring him into good company, and now and then carry him to church; by which means he may in time come to a right sense of religion, and wear off the ill impressions he has received. Lastly, I advise whoever undertakes the reformation of a modern Free-thinker, that above all things he be careful to subdue his Vanity; that being the principal motive which prompts a little genius to distinguish itself by singularities that are hurtful to mankind.

Or, if the passion of Vanity, as it is for the most part very strong in your Free-thinkers, cannot be subdued, let it be won over to the interest of religion, by giving them to understand that the greatest *Genii* of the age have a respect for things sacred; that their rhapsodies find no admirers, and that the name Free-thinker has, like Tyrant of old, degenerated from its original signification, and is now supposed to denote something contrary to wit and reason. In fine, let them know that whatever temptations a few men of parts might formerly have had, from the novelty of the thing, to oppose the received opinions of Christians, yet that now the humour is worn out, and blasphemy and irreligion are distinctions which have long since descended down to lackeys and drawers.

But it must be my business to prevent all pretenders in this kind from hurting the ignorant and unwary. In order to this, I communicated an intelligence which I received of a gentleman's appearing very sorry that he was not well during a late fit of sickness, contrary to his own doctrine, which obliged him to be merry upon that occasion, except he was sure of recovering. Upon this advice to the world, the following advertisement got a place in the *Post-boy*:—

'Whereas in the paper called the *Guardian*, of Saturday the 11th of April instant, a corollary reflexion was made on Monsieur D———, a member of the royal academy of sciences in Paris, author of a book lately published, entitled, *A Philological Essay, or Reflexions on the death of Free-thinkers, with the characters of the most eminent persons of both sexes, ancient and modern, that died pleasantly and unconcerned*, sold by J. Baker in Pater-noster-Row, sug-

gesting as if that gentleman, now in London, "was very much out of humour, in a late fit of sickness, till he was in a fair way of recovery:"—this is to assure the public, that the said gentleman never expressed the least concern at the approach of death, but expected the fatal minute with a most heroical and philosophical resignation; of which a copy of verses he wrote, in the serene intervals of his distemper, is an invincible proof.'

All that I contend for is, that this gentleman[1] was out of humour when he was sick; and the advertiser, to confute me, says, that 'in the serene intervals of his distemper,' that is, when he was not sick, he wrote verses. I shall not retract my advertisement till I see those verses; and I will choose what to believe then, except they are underwritten by his nurse, nor then neither, except she is an house-keeper. I must tie this gentleman close to the argument; for, if he had not actually his fit upon him, there is nothing courageous in the thing, nor does it make for his purpose, nor are they heroic verses.

The point of being merry at the hour of death is a matter that ought to be settled by divines; but the publisher of the *Philological Essay* produces his chief authorities from Lucretius, the earl of Rochester, and Mr. John Dryden, who were gentlemen that did not think themselves obliged to prove all they said, or else proved their assertions, by saying or swearing they were all fools that believed to the contrary. If it be absolutely necessary that a man should be facetious at his death, it would be very well if these gentlemen, Monsieur D—— and Mr. B——[2], would repent betimes, and not trust to a death-bed ingenuity; by what has appeared hitherto, they have only raised our longing to see their posthumous works.

The author of *Poetæ Rusticantis Literatum Otium* is but a mere phraseologist; the philological publisher is but a translator; but I expected better usage from Mr. Abel Roper who is an original.

[1] M. Deslandes; cf. p. 147. [2] Conjectured to be Mr. Budgell.

V

PLEASURES, NATURAL AND FANTASTICAL[1]

'— quæ possit facere & servare beatum.'
HOR. *Ep.* 6. l. 1. v. 2.
'To make men happy, and to keep them so.'—CREECH.

IT is of great use to consider the Pleasures which constitute human happiness, as they are distinguished into natural and fantastical. Natural pleasures I call those, which, not depending on the fashion and caprice of any particular age or nation, are suited to human nature in general, and were intended by Providence as rewards for the using our faculties agreeably to the ends for which they were given us. Fantastical pleasures are those which, having no natural fitness to delight our minds, presuppose some particular whim or taste accidentally prevailing in a set of people, to which it is owing that they please.

Now, I take it that the tranquillity and cheerfulness with which I have passed my life are the effect of having, ever since I came to years of discretion, continued my inclinations to the former sort of pleasures. But, as my experience can be a rule only to my own actions, it may probably be a stronger motive to induce others to the same scheme of life, if they would consider that we are prompted to natural pleasures by an instinct impressed on our minds by the Author of our nature, who best understands our frames, and consequently best knows what those pleasures are, which will give us the least uneasiness in the pursuit, and the greatest satisfaction in the enjoyment of them. Hence it follows that the objects of our natural desires are cheap or easy to be obtained; it being a maxim that holds throughout the whole system of created beings, 'that, nothing is made in vain,' much less the instincts and appetites of animals, which the benevolence as well as wisdom of the Deity is concerned to provide for. Nor is the fruition of those objects less pleasing than the acquisition is easy; and the pleasure is heightened by the sense of having answered some natural end, and the conscious-

[1] *Guardian*, No. 49, Thursday, May 7, 1713.

ness of acting in concert with the Supreme Governor of the universe.

Under natural pleasures I comprehend those which are universally suited as well to the rational as the sensual part of our nature. And, of the pleasures which affect our senses, those only are to be esteemed natural that are contained within the rules of reason, which is allowed to be as necessary an ingredient of human nature as sense. And, indeed, excesses of any kind are hardly to be esteemed pleasures, much less natural pleasures.

It is evident that a desire terminated in money is fantastical; so is the desire of outward distinctions, which bring no delight of sense, nor recommend us as useful to mankind; and the desire of things merely because they are new or foreign. Men who are indisposed to a due exertion of their higher parts are driven to such pursuits as these from the restlessness of the mind, and the sensitive appetites being easily satisfied. It is, in some sort, owing to the bounty of Providence that, disdaining a cheap and vulgar happiness, they frame to themselves imaginary goods, in which there is nothing can raise desire, but the difficulty of obtaining them. Thus men become the contrivers of their own misery; as a punishment on themselves for departing from the measures of nature. Having by an habitual reflexion on these truths made them familiar, the effect is, that I, among a number of persons who have debauched their natural taste, see things in a peculiar light; which I have arrived at, not by any uncommon force of genius or acquired knowledge, but only by unlearning the false notions instilled by custom and education.

The various objects that compose the world were by nature formed to delight our senses: and as it is this alone that makes them desirable to an uncorrupted taste, a man may be said naturally to possess them, when he possesseth those enjoyments which they are fitted by nature to yield. Hence it is usual with me to consider myself as having a natural property in every object that administers pleasure to me. When I am in the country, all the fine seats near the place of my residence, and to which I have access, I regard as mine. The same I think of the groves and fields where I walk, and muse on the folly of the civil

landlord in London, who has the fantastical pleasure of *draining dry rent* into his coffers, but is a stranger to fresh air and rural enjoyments. By these principles I am possessed of half a dozen of the finest seats in England, which in the eye of the law belong to certain of my acquaintance, who being men of business choose to live near the court.

In some great families, where I choose to pass my time, a stranger would be apt to rank me with the other domestics; but, in my own thoughts and natural judgment, I am master of the house, and he who goes by that name is my steward, who eases me of the care of providing for myself the conveniences and pleasures of life.

When I walk the streets, I use the foregoing natural maxim (viz. That he is the true possessor of a thing who enjoys it, and not he that owns it without the enjoyment of it) to convince myself that I have a property in the gay part of all the gilt chariots that I meet, which I regard as amusements designed to delight my eyes, and the imagination of those kind people who sit in them gaily attired only to please me. I have a real, and they only an imaginary pleasure from their exterior embellishments. Upon the same principle, I have discovered that I am the natural proprietor of all the diamond necklaces, the crosses, stars, brocades, and embroidered clothes which I see at a play or birth-night, as giving more natural delight to the spectator than to those that wear them. And I look on the beaux and ladies as so many paraquets in an aviary, or tulips in a garden, designed purely for my diversion. A gallery of pictures, a cabinet or library that I have free access to, I think my own. In a word, all that I desire is the use of things, let who will have the keeping of them. By which maxim I am grown one of the richest men in Great Britain; with this difference, that I am not a prey to my own cares, or the envy of others.

The same principles I find of great use in my private economy. As I cannot go to the price of history-painting, I have purchased at easy rates several beautifully designed pieces of landscape and perspective, which are much more pleasing to a natural taste than unknown faces or Dutch gambols, though done by the best masters: my couches, beds, and window-curtains are of Irish stuff, which those of

that nation work very fine, and with a delightful mixture of colours [1]. There is not a piece of china in my house; but I have glasses of all sorts, and some tinged with the finest colours, which are not the less pleasing, because they are domestic, and cheaper than foreign toys. Everything is neat, entire, and clean, and fitted to the taste of one who had rather be happy than be thought rich.

Every day, numberless innocent and natural gratifications occur to me, while I behold my fellow creatures labouring in a toilsome and absurd pursuit of trifles;—one, that he may be called by a particular appellation; another, that he may wear a particular ornament, which I regard as a bit of ribbon that has an agreeable effect on my sight, but is so far from supplying the place of merit where it is not, that it serves only to make the want of it more conspicuous. Fair weather is the joy of my soul; about noon I behold a blue sky with rapture, and receive great consolation from the rosy dashes of light which adorn the clouds of the morning and evening. When I am lost among green trees, I do not envy a great man with a great crowd at his levee. And I often lay aside thoughts of going to an opera that I may enjoy the silent pleasure of walking by moonlight, or viewing the stars sparkle in their azure ground; which I look upon as part of my possessions, not without a secret indignation at the tastelessness of mortal men who, in their race through life, overlook the real enjoyments of it.

But the pleasure which naturally affects a human mind with the most lively and transporting touches, I take to be the sense that we act in the eye of infinite wisdom, power, and goodness, that will crown our virtuous endeavours here with a happiness hereafter, large as our desires, and lasting as our immortal souls. This is a perpetual spring of gladness in the mind. This lessens our calamities, and doubles our joys. Without this the highest state of life is insipid, and with it the lowest is a paradise. What unnatural wretches then are those who can be so stupid as to imagine a merit, in endeavouring to rob virtue of her support, and a man of his present as well as future bliss? But as I have frequently taken occasion to animadvert on that species of mortals, so I propose to repeat

[1] Cf. *Querist*, Qu. 64–69.

my animadversions on them, till I see some symptoms of amendment.

VI

FUTURE REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS[1]

'——quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
Præmia si tollas?——' Juv. *Sat.* 10. v. 141.

'For who would virtue for herself regard,
Or wed, without the portion of reward?'—Dryden.

It is usual with polemical writers to object ill designs to their adversaries. This turns their argument into satire, which, instead of shewing an error in the understanding, tends only to expose the morals of those they write against. I shall not act after this manner with respect to the Free-thinkers. Virtue, and the happiness of society are the great ends which all men ought to promote, and some of that sect would be thought to have at heart above the rest of mankind. But, supposing those who make that profession to carry on a good design in the simplicity of their hearts, and according to their best knowledge, yet it is much to be feared, those well-meaning souls, while they endeavoured to recommend virtue, have in reality been advancing the interests of vice, which as I take to proceed from their ignorance of human nature, we may hope, when they become sensible of their mistake, they will, in consequence of that beneficent principle they pretend to act upon, reform their practice for the future.

The sages whom I have in my eye speak of virtue as the most amiable thing in the world; but, at the same time that they extol her beauty, they take care to lessen her portion. Such innocent creatures are they, and so great strangers to the world, that they think this a likely method to increase the number of her admirers.

Virtue has in herself the most engaging charms; and Christianity, as it places her in the strongest light, and adorned with all her native attractions, so it kindles a new fire in the soul, by adding to them the unutterable rewards which attend her votaries in an eternal state. Or if there are men of a saturnine and heavy complexion, who are not easily lifted up by hope, there is the prospect of everlasting

[1] *Guardian*, No. 55, Thursday, May 14, 1713.

punishments to agitate their souls, and frighten them into the practice of virtue and an aversion from vice.

Whereas your sober Free-thinkers tell you, that virtue indeed is beautiful, and vice deformed; the former deserves your love, and the latter your abhorrence;—but then, it is for their own sake, or on account of the good and evil which immediately attend them, and are inseparable from their respective natures. As for the immortality of the soul, or eternal punishments and rewards, those are openly ridiculed, or rendered suspicious by the most sly and laboured artifice[1].

I will not say, these men act treacherously in the cause of virtue; but will any one deny that they act foolishly who pretend to advance the interest of it by destroying or weakening the strongest motives to it, which are accommodated to all capacities, and fitted to work on all dispositions, and enforcing those alone which can affect only a generous and exalted mind?

Surely they must be destitute of passion themselves, and unacquainted with the force it hath on the minds of others, who can imagine that the mere beauty of fortitude, temperance, and justice is sufficient to sustain the mind of man in a severe course of self-denial against all the temptations of present profit and sensuality.

It is my opinion the Free-thinkers should be treated as a set of poor ignorant creatures, that have not sense to discover the excellency of religion; it being evident those men are no witches, nor likely to be guilty of any deep design, who proclaim aloud to the world that they have less motives to honesty than the rest of their fellow subjects; who have all the inducements to the exercise of any virtue which a Free-thinker can possibly have, and besides the expectation of never-ending happiness or misery as the consequence of their choice.

Are not men actuated by their passions, and are not hope and fear the most powerful of our passions? And are there any objects which can rouse and awaken our hopes and fears, like those prospects that warm and penetrate the heart of a Christian, but are not regarded by a Free-thinker?

It is not only a clear point that a Christian breaks through

[1] Cf. the Third Dialogue in *Alciphron*.

stronger engagements whenever he surrenders himself to commit a criminal action, and is stung with a sharper remorse after it, than a Free-thinker; but it should even seem that a man who believes no future state, would act a foolish part in being thoroughly honest. For what reason is there why such a one should postpone his own private interest or pleasure to the doing his duty? If a Christian foregoes some present advantage for the sake of his conscience, he acts accountably, because it is with the view of gaining some greater future good. But he that, having no such view, should yet conscientiously deny himself a present good in any incident where he may save appearances is altogether as stupid as he that would trust him at such a juncture.

It will, perhaps, be said that virtue is her own reward, that a natural gratification attends good actions, which is alone sufficient to excite men to the performance of them. But although there is nothing more lovely than virtue, and the practice of it is the surest way to solid natural happiness even in this life; yet titles, estates, and fantastical pleasures are more ardently sought after by most men than the natural gratifications of a reasonable mind; and it cannot be denied that virtue and innocence are not always the readiest methods to attain that sort of happiness. Besides, the fumes of passion must be allayed, and reason must burn brighter than ordinary, to enable men to see and relish all the native beauties and delights of a virtuous life. And though we should grant our Free-thinkers to be a set of refined spirits, capable only of being enamoured of virtue, yet what would become of the bulk of mankind who have gross understandings, but lively senses and strong passions? What a deluge of lust and fraud and violence would in a little time overflow the whole nation if these wise advocates for morality were universally hearkened to? Lastly, opportunities do sometimes offer in which a man may wickedly make his fortune, or indulge a pleasure, without fear of temporal damage, either in reputation, health, or fortune. In such cases, what restraint do they lie under who have no regards beyond the grave? the inward compunctions of a wicked, as well as the joys of an upright mind, being grafted on the sense of another state.

The thought that our existence terminates with this life doth naturally check the soul in any generous pursuit, contract her views, and fix them on temporary and selfish ends. It dethrones the reason, extinguishes all noble and heroic sentiments, and subjects the mind to the slavery of every present passion. The wise heathens of antiquity were not ignorant of this; hence they endeavoured by fables and conjectures, and the glimmerings of nature, to possess the minds of men with the belief of a future state, which has been since brought to light by the Gospel, and is now most inconsistently decried by a few weak men, who would have us believe that they promote virtue by turning religion into ridicule.

VII

THOUGHTS ON PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES[1]

'O fortunatos nimiùm, sua si bona nôrint!'
VIRG. *Georg.* 2. v. 458.

'Too happy, if they knew their happy state.'

UPON the late election of king's scholars, my curiosity drew me to Westminster School. The sight of a place where I had not been for many years revived in my thoughts the tender images of my childhood, which by a great length of time had contracted a softness that rendered them inexpressibly agreeable. As it is usual with me to draw a secret unenvied pleasure from a thousand incidents overlooked by other men, I threw myself into a short transport, forgetting my age, and fancying myself a school-boy.

This imagination was strongly favoured by the presence of so many young boys, in whose looks were legible the sprightly passions of that age, which raised in me a sort of sympathy. Warm blood thrilled through every vein; the faded memory of those enjoyments that once gave me

[1] *Guardian*, No. 62, Friday, May 22, 1713. Some of these 'thoughts' are akin to the ideal which inspired Berkeley, in his Bermuda enterprise, and in his retirement to Oxford at the end.

pleasure put on more lively colours, and a thousand gay amusements filled my mind.

It was not without regret that I was forsaken by this waking dream. The cheapness of puerile delights, the guiltless joy they leave upon the mind, the blooming hopes that lift up the soul in the ascent of life, the pleasure that attends the gradual opening of the imagination and the dawn of reason, made me think most men found that stage the most agreeable part of their journey.

When men come to riper years, the innocent diversions which exalted the spirits, and produced health of body, indolence of mind, and refreshing slumbers, are too often exchanged for criminal delights which fill the soul with anguish and the body with disease. The grateful employment of admiring and raising themselves to an imitation of the polite style, beautiful images, and noble sentiments of ancient authors, is abandoned for law-Latin, the lucubrations of our paltry newsmongers, and that swarm of vile pamphlets which corrupt our taste, and infest the public. The ideas of virtue which the characters of heroes had imprinted on their minds insensibly wear out, and they come to be influenced by the nearer examples of a degenerate age.

In the morning of life, when the soul first makes her entrance into the world, all things look fresh and gay; their novelty surprises, and every little glitter or gaudy colour transports the stranger. But by degrees the sense grows callous, and we lose that exquisite relish of trifles, by the time our minds should be supposed ripe for rational entertainments. I cannot make this reflexion without being touched with a commiseration of that species called Beaux, the happiness of those men necessarily terminating with their childhood; who, from a want of knowing other pursuits, continue a fondness for the delights of that age after the relish of them is decayed.

Providence hath with a bountiful hand prepared variety of pleasures for the various stages of life. It behoves us not to be wanting to ourselves, in forwarding the intention of nature, by the culture of our minds, and a due preparation of each faculty for the enjoyment of those objects it is capable of being affected with.

As our parts open and display by gentle degrees, we

rise from the gratifications of sense to relish those of the mind. In the scale of pleasure, the lowest are sensual delights, which are succeeded by the more enlarged views and gay portraitures of a lively imagination; and these give way to the sublimer pleasures of reason, which discover the causes and designs, the frame, connexion, and symmetry of things, and fill the mind with the contemplation of intellectual beauty, order, and truth.

Hence I regard our public schools and universities, not only as nurseries of men for the service of the church and state, but also as places designed to teach mankind the most refined luxury, to raise the mind to its due perfection, and give it a taste for those entertainments which afford the highest transport, without the grossness or remorse that attend vulgar enjoyments.

In those blessed retreats men enjoy the sweets of solitude, and yet converse with the greatest *Genii* that have appeared in every age, wander through the delightful mazes of every art and science, and as they gradually enlarge their sphere of knowledge, at once rejoice in their present possessions, and are animated by the boundless prospect of future discoveries. *There* a generous emulation, a noble thirst of fame, a love of truth and honourable regards, reign in minds as yet untainted from the world. *There* the stock of learning transmitted down from the ancients is preserved, and receives a daily increase; and it is *thence* propagated by men who, having finished their studies, go into the world, and spread that general knowledge and good taste throughout the land, which is so distant from the barbarism of its ancient inhabitants, or the first genius of its invaders. And as it is evident that our literature is owing to the schools and universities so it cannot be denied that these are owing to our religion.

It was chiefly, if not altogether, upon religious considerations that princes, as well as private persons, have erected Colleges, and assigned liberal endowments to students and professors. Upon the same account they meet with encouragement and protection from all Christian states, as being esteemed a necessary means to have the sacred oracles and primitive traditions of Christianity preserved and understood. And it is well known that,

after a long night of ignorance and superstition, the reformation of the church and that of learning began together, and made proportionable advances, the latter having been the effect of the former, which of course engaged men in the study of the learned languages and of antiquity.

Or, if a Free-thinker is ignorant of these facts, he may be convinced from the manifest reason of the thing. Is it not plain that our skill in literature is owing to the knowledge of Greek and Latin, which, that they are still preserved among us, can be ascribed only to a religious regard? What else should be the cause why the youth of Christendom, above the rest of mankind, are educated in the painful study of those dead languages, and that religious societies should peculiarly be employed in acquiring that sort of knowledge, and teaching it to others?

And it is more than probable that, in case our Free-thinkers could once achieve their glorious design of sinking the credit of the Christian religion, and causing those revenues to be withdrawn which their wiser forefathers had appointed to the support and encouragement of its teachers, in a little time the Shaster would be as intelligible as the Greek Testament; and we who want that spirit and curiosity which distinguished the ancient Grecians would by degrees relapse into the same state of barbarism which overspread the northern nations before they were enlightened by Christianity.

Some, perhaps, from the ill tendency and vile taste which appear in their writings, may suspect that the Free-thinkers are carrying on a malicious design against the Belles Lettres: for my part, I rather conceive them as unthinking wretches of short views and narrow capacities, who are not able to penetrate into the causes or consequences of things.

VIII

FÉNELON'S DEMONSTRATION[1]

'Jupiter est quodcunque vides . . .' —LUCAN.
'Where'er you turn your eyes, 'tis God you see.'

I HAD this morning a very valuable and kind present sent me of a translated work of a most excellent foreign writer, who makes a very considerable figure in the learned and Christian world. It is entitled, 'A Demonstration of the Existence, Wisdom and Omnipotence of God, drawn from the knowledge of Nature, particularly of Man, and fitted to the meanest capacity;' by the Archbishop of Cambray, Author of Telemachus; and translated from the French by the same hand that Englished that excellent piece. This great author, in the writings which he has before produced, has manifested an heart full of virtuous sentiments, great benevolence to mankind, as well as a sincere and fervent piety towards his Creator. His talents and parts are a very great good to the world, and it is a pleasing thing to behold the polite arts subservient to religion, and recommending it from its natural beauty. Looking over the letters of my correspondents, I find one which celebrates this Treatise, and recommends it to my readers.

TO THE GUARDIAN.

'SIR,

'I think I have somewhere read, in the writings of one whom I take to be a friend of yours, a saying which struck me very much, and as I remember it was to this purpose: "The existence of a God is so far from being a thing that wants to be proved, that I think it is the only thing of which we are certain." This is a sprightly and just expression; however, I dare say, you will not be displeased that I put you in mind of saying something on the Demonstration of the Bishop of Cambray. A man of his talents views all things in a light different from that

[1] *Guardian*, No. 69, Saturday, May 30, 1713. The First Part of Fénelon's *Démonstration de l'Existence de Dieu* was translated into English by Abel Boyer. (London, 1713.)

in which ordinary men see them, and the devout disposition of his soul turns all those talents to the improvement of the pleasures of a good life. His style clothes philosophy in a dress almost poetic, and his readers enjoy in full perfection the advantage, while they are reading him, of being what he is. The pleasing representation of the animal powers in the beginning of his work, and his consideration of the nature of man with the addition of reason in the subsequent discourse, impresses upon the mind a strong satisfaction in itself, and gratitude towards Him who bestowed that superiority over the brute world. These thoughts had such an effect upon the author himself that he has ended his discourse with a Prayer. This adoration has a sublimity in it befitting his character, and the emotions of his heart flow from wisdom and knowledge. I thought it would be proper for a Saturday's paper, and have translated it to make you a present of it. I have not, as the translator was obliged to do, confined myself to an exact version from the original, but have endeavoured to express the spirit of it, by taking the liberty to render his thoughts in such a way as I should have uttered them if they had been my own. It has been observed that the private letters of great men are the best pictures of their souls, but certainly their private devotions would be still more instructive, and I know not why they should not be as curious and entertaining.

'If you insert this Prayer, I know not but I may send you, for another occasion, one used by a very great wit of the last age, which has allusions to the errors of a very wild life, and I believe you will think is written with an uncommon spirit. The person whom I mean was an excellent writer, and the publication of this prayer of his may be, perhaps, some kind of antidote against the infection in his other writings. But this supplication of the bishop has in it a more happy and untroubled spirit; it is (if that is not saying something too fond) the worship of an angel concerned for those who had fallen, but himself still in the state of glory and innocence. The book ends with an act of devotion, to this effect:

'O my God! If the greater number of mankind do not discover Thee in that glorious shew of Nature which Thou

hast placed before our eyes, it is not because Thou art far from every one of us. Thou art present to us more than any object which we touch with our hands; but our senses, and the passions which they produce in us, turn our attention from Thee. Thy light shines in the midst of darkness, but the darkness comprehends it not. Thou, O Lord, dost every way display thyself. Thou shinest in all Thy works, but art not regarded by heedless and unthinking man. The whole creation talks aloud of Thee, and echoes with the repetitions of Thy holy name. But such is our insensibility that we are deaf to the great and universal voice of nature. Thou art everywhere about us and within us; but we wander from ourselves, become strangers to our own souls, and do not apprehend Thy presence. O Thou who art the eternal fountain of light and beauty, who art the ancient of days, without beginning and without end; O Thou, who art the life of all that truly live, those can never fail to find Thee who seek for Thee within themselves. But, alas! the very gifts which Thou bestowest upon us do so employ our thoughts that they hinder us from perceiving the hand which conveys them to us. We live by Thee, and yet we live without thinking on Thee; but, O Lord, what is life in the ignorance of Thee! A dead unactive piece of matter, a flower that withers, a river that glides away, a palace that hastens to its ruin, a picture made up of fading colours, a mass of shining ore, strike our imaginations, and make us sensible of their existence. We regard them as objects capable of giving us pleasure, not considering that Thou conveyest through them all the pleasure which we imagine they give us. Such vain empty objects that are only the shadows of being, are proportioned to our low and grovelling thoughts. That beauty which Thou hast poured out on Thy creation is as a veil which hides Thee from our eyes. As Thou art a being too pure and exalted to pass through our senses, Thou art not regarded by men, who have debased their nature, and have made themselves like the beasts that perish. So infatuated are they, that, notwithstanding they know what is wisdom and virtue, which have neither sound, nor colour, nor smell, nor taste, nor figure, nor any other sensible quality, they can doubt of Thy existence, because Thou art not apprehended by

the grosser organs of sense. Wretches that we are! we consider shadows as realities, and truth as a phantom. That which is nothing is all to us, and that which is all appears to us nothing. What do we see in all nature but Thee, O my God! Thou, and only Thou, appearest in every thing. When I consider Thee, O Lord, I am swallowed up and lost in contemplation of Thee. Every thing besides thee, even my own existence, vanishes and disappears in the contemplation of Thee. I am lost to myself and fall into nothing when I think on Thee. The man who does not see Thee has beheld nothing; he who does not taste Thee, has a relish of nothing. His being is vain, and his life but a dream. Set up Thyself, O Lord, set up Thyself that we may behold Thee. As wax consumes before the fire, and as the smoke is driven away, so let thine enemies vanish out of thy presence. How unhappy is that soul who, without the sense of Thee, has no God, no hope, no comfort to support him! But how happy the man who searches, sighs, and thirsts after Thee! But he only is fully happy on whom Thou liftest up the light of Thy countenance, whose tears Thou hast wiped away, and who enjoys in Thy loving-kindness the completion of all his desires. How long, how long, O Lord, shall I wait for that day when I shall possess, in Thy presence, fullness of joy and pleasures for evermore! O my God, in this pleasing hope, my bones rejoice and cry out, Who is like unto Thee! My heart melts away, and my soul faints within me, when I look up to Thee who art the God of my life, and my portion to all eternity.'

IX

NARROWNESS[1] OF FREE-THINKERS[2]

'——mentisque capacius altae.'—Ovid. *Met.* l. 1. v. 76.
'Of thoughts enlarg'd, and more exalted mind.'

As I was the other day taking a solitary walk in St. Paul's, I indulged my thoughts in the pursuit of a certain analogy between that fabric and the Christian Church in

[1] 'Narrowness.' Hence called '*minute* philosophers.'

[2] *Guardian*, No. 70, Monday, June 1, 1713.

the largest sense. The divine order and economy of the one seemed to be emblematically set forth by the just, plain, and majestic architecture of the other. And as the one consists of a great variety of parts united in the same regular design, according to the truest art, and most exact proportion; so the other contains a decent subordination of members, various sacred institutions, sublime doctrines, and solid precepts of morality digested into the same design, and with an admirable concurrence tending to one view, the happiness and exaltation of human nature.

In the midst of my contemplation, I beheld a fly upon one of the pillars; and it straightway came into my head, that this same fly was a Free-thinker. For it required some comprehension in the eye of the spectator, to take in at one view the various parts of the building, in order to observe their symmetry and design. But to the fly, whose prospect was confined to a little part of one of the stones of a single pillar, the joint beauty of the whole or the distinct use of its parts were inconspicuous, and nothing could appear but small inequalities in the surface of the hewn stone, which in the view of that insect seemed so many deformed rocks and precipices.

The thoughts of a Free-thinker are employed on certain minute particularities of religion, the difficulty of a single text, or the unaccountableness of some step of Providence or point of doctrine to his narrow faculties, without comprehending the scope and design of Christianity, the perfection to which it raiseth human nature, the light it hath shed abroad in the world, and the close connexion it hath as well with the good of public societies as with that of particular persons.

This raised in me some reflexions on that frame or disposition which is called 'largeness of mind,' its necessity towards forming a true judgment of things, and, where the soul is not incurably stinted by nature, what are the likeliest methods to give it enlargement.

It is evident that Philosophy doth open and enlarge the mind by the general views to which men are habituated in that study, and by the contemplation of more numerous and distant objects than fall within the sphere of mankind in the ordinary pursuits of life. Hence it comes to pass that philosophers judge of most things very differently

from the vulgar. Some instances of this may be seen in the Theætetus of Plato, where Socrates makes the following remarks, among others of the like nature :—

'When a philosopher hears ten thousand acres mentioned as a great estate, he looks upon it as an inconsiderable spot, having been used to contemplate the whole globe of earth. Or when he beholds a man elated with the nobility of his race because he can reckon a series of seven rich ancestors, the philosopher thinks him a stupid ignorant fellow, whose mind cannot reach to a general view of human nature, which would shew him that we have all innumerable ancestors, among whom are crowds of rich and poor, kings and slaves, Greeks and Barbarians.' Thus far Socrates, who was accounted wiser than the rest of the Heathens for notions which approach the nearest to Christianity.

As all parts and branches of Philosophy, or speculative knowledge, are useful in that respect, Astronomy is peculiarly adapted to remedy a little and narrow spirit. In that science there are good reasons assigned to prove the sun an hundred thousand times bigger than our earth, and the distance of the stars so prodigious, that a cannon-bullet continuing in its ordinary rapid motion, would not arrive from hence at the nearest of them in the space of an hundred and fifty thousand years. These ideas wonderfully dilate and expand the mind. There is something in the immensity of this distance that shocks and overwhelms the imagination; it is too big for the grasp of a human intellect: estates, provinces, and kingdoms vanish at its presence. It were to be wished a certain prince[1], who hath encouraged the study of it in his subjects, had been himself a proficient in astronomy. This might have shewed him how mean an ambition that was which terminated in a small part of what is itself but a point, in respect to that part of the universe which lies within our view.

But the Christian Religion ennobleth and enlargeth the mind beyond any other profession or science whatsoever. Upon that scheme, while the earth, and the transient enjoyments of this life, shrink into the narrowest dimensions, and are accounted as 'the dust of a balance, the

[1] Lewis XIV.

drop of a bucket, yea, less than nothing,' the intellectual world opens wider to our view. The perfections of the Deity, the nature and excellence of virtue, the dignity of the human soul, are displayed in the largest characters. The mind of man seems to adapt itself to the different nature of its objects; it is contracted and debased by being conversant in little and low things, and feels a proportionable enlargement arising from the contemplation of these great and sublime ideas.

The greatness of things is comparative; and this does not only hold in respect of extension, but likewise in respect of dignity, duration, and all kinds of perfection. Astronomy opens the mind, and alters our judgment, with regard to the magnitude of extended beings; but Christianity produceth an universal greatness of soul. Philosophy increaseth our views in every respect, but Christianity extends them to a degree beyond the light of nature.

How mean must the most exalted potentate upon earth appear to that eye which takes in innumerable orders of blessed spirits, differing in glory and perfection! How little must the amusements of sense, and the ordinary occupations of mortal men, seem to one who is engaged in so noble a pursuit as the assimilation of himself to the Deity, which is the proper employment of every Christian!

And the improvement which grows from habituating the mind to the comprehensive views of religion must not be thought wholly to regard the understanding. Nothing is of greater force to subdue the inordinate motions of the heart, and to regulate the will. Whether a man be actuated by his passions or his reason, these are first wrought upon by some object, which stirs the soul in proportion to its apparent dimensions. Hence irreligious men, whose short prospects are filled with earth, and sense, and mortal life, are invited, by these mean ideas, to actions proportionably little and low. But a mind whose views are enlightened and extended by religion is animated to nobler pursuits by more sublime and remote objects.

There is not any instance of weakness in the Freethinkers that raises my indignation more than their tending to ridicule Christians as men of narrow understandings, and to pass themselves upon the world for persons of superior sense, and more enlarged views. But I leave it

to any impartial man to judge which hath the nobler sentiments, which the greater views; he whose notions are stinted to a few miserable inlets of sense, or he whose sentiments are raised above the common taste by the anticipation of those delights which will satiate the soul, when the whole capacity of her nature is branched out into new faculties? He who looks for nothing beyond this short span of duration, or he whose aims are co-extended with the endless length of eternity? He who derives his spirit from the elements, or he who thinks it was inspired by the Almighty?

X

ON SHORT-SIGHTEDNESS OF MIND[1]

'——Certum voto pete finem.'—Hor. *Ep.* 2. l. 1. v. 56.

'——To wishes fix an end.'—Creech.

The writers of morality assign two sorts of Goods. The one is in itself desirable; the other is to be desired, not on account of its own excellency, but for the sake of some other thing which it is instrumental to obtain. These are usually distinguished by the appellations of End and Means. We are prompted by nature to desire the former, but that we have any appetite for the latter is owing to choice and deliberation.

But as wise men engage in the pursuit of means from a farther view of some natural good with which they are connected; fools, who are actuated by imitation and not by reason, blindly pursue the means, without any design or prospect of applying them. The result whereof is, that they entail upon themselves the anxiety and toil, but are debarred from the subsequent delights which arise to wiser men; since their views, not reaching the end, terminate in those things which, although they have a relative goodness, yet considered absolutely are indifferent, or it may be evil.

The principle of this misconduct is a certain short-sightedness in the mind. And as this defect is branched

[1] *Guardian*, No. 77, Tuesday, June 9, 1713.

forth into innumerable errors in life, and hath infected all ranks and conditions of men, so it more eminently appears in three species—the Critics, Misers, and Free-thinkers. I shall endeavour to make good this observation with regard to each of them. And first of the Critic.

Profit and pleasure are the ends that a reasonable creature would propose to obtain by study, or indeed by any other undertaking. Those parts of learning which relate to the imagination, as eloquence and poetry, produce an immediate pleasure in the mind. And sublime and useful truths, when they are conveyed in apt allegories or beautiful images, make more distinct and lasting impressions; by which means the fancy becomes subservient to the understanding, and the mind is at the same time delighted and instructed. The exercise of the understanding in the discovery of truth is likewise attended with great pleasure, as well as immediate profit. It not only strengthens the faculties, purifies the soul, subdues the passions; but, besides these advantages, there is also a secret joy that flows from intellectual operations, proportioned to the nobleness of the faculty, and not the less affecting because inward and unseen.

But the mere exercise of the memory as such, instead of bringing pleasure or immediate benefit, is a thing of vain irksomeness and fatigue, especially when employed in the acquisition of languages, which is, of all others, the most dry and painful occupation. There must be therefore something further proposed, or a wise man would never engage in it. And, indeed, the very reason of the thing plainly intimates that the motive which first drew men to affect a knowledge in dead tongues was that they looked on them as means to convey more useful and entertaining knowledge into their minds.

There are nevertheless certain critics, who, seeing that Greek and Latin are in request, join in a thoughtless pursuit of those languages, without any further view. They look on the ancient authors, but it is with an eye to phraseology, or certain minute particulars which are valuable for no other reason but because they are despised and forgotten by the rest of mankind. The divine maxims of morality, the exact pictures of human life, the profound discoveries in the arts and sciences, just thoughts, bright

images, sublime sentiments, are overlooked, while the mind is learnedly taken up in verbal remarks.

Was a critic ever known to read Plato with a contemplative mind; or Cicero, in order to imbibe the noble sentiments of virtue and a public spirit which are conspicuous in the writings of that great man; or to peruse the Greek or Roman historians, with an intention to form his own life upon the plan of the illustrious patterns they exhibit to our view? Plato wrote in Greek. Cicero's Latin is fine. And it often lies in a man's way to quote the ancient historians.

There is no entertainment upon earth more noble and befitting a reasonable mind than the perusal of good authors, or that better qualifies a man to pass his life with satisfaction to himself, or advantage to the public. But where men of short views and mean souls give themselves to that sort of employment which nature never designed them for, they, indeed, keep one another in countenance; but, instead of cultivating and adorning their own minds, or acquiring an ability to be useful to the world, they reap no other advantage from their labours than the dry consolation arising from the applauses they bestow upon each other.

And the same weakness, or defect of the mind from whence Pedantry takes its rise does likewise give birth to Avarice. Words and money are both to be regarded as only marks of things. And as the knowledge of the one, so the possession of the other is of no use, unless directed to a further end. A mutual commerce could not be carried on among men if some common standard had not been agreed upon, to which the value of all the various products of art and nature were reducible, and which might be of the same use in the conveyance of property as words are in that of ideas. Gold, by its beauty, scarceness, and durable nature, seems designed by Providence to a purpose so excellent and advantageous to mankind. Upon these considerations that metal came first into esteem. But such who cannot see beyond what is nearest in the pursuit, beholding mankind touched with an affection for gold, and being ignorant of the true reason that introduced this odd passion into human nature, imagine some intrinsic worth in the metal to be the cause of it.

Hence the same men who, had they been turned towards learning, would have employed themselves in laying up words in their memory, are, by a different application, employed to as much purpose in treasuring up gold in their coffers. They differ only in the object; the principle on which they act, and the inward frame of mind, is the same in the Critic and the Miser.

And upon a thorough observation, our modern sect of Free-thinkers will be found to labour under the same defect with those two inglorious species. Their short views are terminated in the next objects, and their specious pretences for liberty and truth are so many instances of mistaking the means for the end. But the setting these points in a clear light must be the subject of another paper.

XI

HAPPINESS OBSTRUCTED BY FREE-THINKERS[1]

'Nimirum insanus paucis videatur, eo quod
Maxima pars hominum morbo jactatur eodem.'
HOR. *Sat.* 3. l. 2. v. 120.

'———Few think these mad, for most, like these,
Are sick and troubled with the same disease.'—CREECH.

THERE is a restless endeavour in the mind of man after Happiness. This appetite is wrought into the original frame of our nature, and exerts itself in all parts of the creation that are endued with any degree of thought or sense. But, as the human mind is dignified by a more comprehensive faculty than can be found in the inferior animals, it is natural for men not only to have an eye each to his own happiness, but also to endeavour to promote that of others in the same rank of being: and in proportion to the generosity that is ingredient in the temper of the soul, the object of its benevolence is of a larger and narrower extent. There is hardly a spirit upon earth so mean and contracted as to centre all regards on its own interest, exclusive of the rest of mankind. Even the selfish man

[1] *Guardian*, No. 83, Tuesday, June 16, 1713.

has some share of love which he bestows on his family and his friends. A nobler mind hath at heart the common interest of the society or country of which he makes a part. And there is still a more diffusive spirit, whose being or intentions reach the whole mass of mankind, and are continued beyond the present age, to a succession of future generations.

The advantage arising to him who hath a tincture of this generosity on his soul is, that he is affected with a sublimer joy than can be comprehended by one who is destitute of that noble relish. The happiness of the rest of mankind hath a natural connexion with that of a reasonable mind. And in proportion as the actions of each individual contribute to this end, he must be thought to deserve well or ill both of the world and of himself. I have in a late paper observed, that men who have no reach of thought do oft misplace their affections on the means, without respect to the end, and by a preposterous desire of things in themselves indifferent forego the enjoyment of that happiness which those things are instrumental to obtain. This observation has been considered with regard to Critics and Misers; I shall now apply it to Free-thinkers.

Liberty and truth are the main points which these gentlemen pretend to have in view; to proceed therefore methodically, I will endeavour to shew, in the first place, that liberty and truth are not in themselves desirable, but only as they relate to a farther end. And secondly, that the sort of liberty and truth (allowing them those names) which our Free-thinkers use all their industry to promote, is destructive of that end, viz. human Happiness; and consequently that species, as such, instead of being encouraged or esteemed, merit the detestation and abhorrence of all honest men. In the last place, I design to shew that, under the pretence of advancing liberty and truth, they do in reality promote the two contrary evils.

As to the first point, it has been observed that it is the duty of each particular person to aim at the Happiness of his fellow creatures; and that as this view is of a wider or narrower extent, it argues a mind more or less virtuous. Hence it follows that a liberty of doing good actions which conduce to the felicity of mankind, and a knowledge of such truths as might either give us pleasure in the con-

templation of them, or direct our conduct to the great ends of life, are valuable perfections. But shall a good man, therefore, prefer a liberty to commit murder or adultery before the wholesome restraint of divine and human laws? Or shall a wise man prefer the knowledge of a troublesome and afflicting truth before a pleasant error that would cheer his soul with joy and comfort, and be attended with no ill consequences? Surely no man of common sense would thank him who had put it in his power to execute the sudden suggestions of a fit of passion or madness, or imagine himself obliged to a person who, by forwardly informing him of ill news, had caused his soul to anticipate that sorrow which she would never have felt so long as the ungrateful truth lay concealed.

Let us then respect the Happiness of our species, and in this light examine the proceedings of the Free-thinkers. From what giants and monsters would these knight-errants undertake to free the world? From the ties that religion imposeth on our minds, from the expectation of a future judgment, and from the terrors of a troubled conscience, not by reforming men's lives, but by giving encouragement to their vices. What are those important truths of which they would convince mankind? That there is no such thing as a wise and just Providence; that the mind of man is corporeal; that religion is a state-trick, contrived to make men honest and virtuous, and to procure a subsistence to others for teaching and exhorting them to be so; that the good tidings of Life and Immortality brought to light by the Gospel are fables and impostures: from believing that we are made in the image of God, they would degrade us to an opinion that we are on a level with the beasts that perish. What pleasure or what advantage do these notions bring to mankind? Is it of any use to the public that good men should lose the comfortable prospect of a reward to their virtue, or the wicked be encouraged to persist in their impiety, from an assurance that they shall not be punished for it hereafter.

Allowing, therefore, these men to be patrons of liberty and truth, yet it is of such truths and that sort of liberty which makes them justly be looked upon as enemies to the peace and happiness of the world. But upon a thorough and impartial view it will be found that their endeavours,

instead of advancing the cause of liberty and truth, tend only to introduce slavery and error among men. There are two parts in our nature, the baser, which consists of our senses and passions, and the more noble and rational, which is properly the human part, the other being common to us with brutes. The inferior part is generally much stronger, and has always the start of reason, which if, in the perpetual struggle between them, it were not aided from heaven by religion would almost universally be vanquished, and man become a slave to his passions, which as it is the most grievous and shameful slavery, so it is the genuine result of that liberty which is proposed by overturning religion. Nor is the other part of their design better executed. Look into their pretended truths; are they not so many wretched absurdities, maintained in opposition to the light of nature and divine revelation by sly inuendos and cold jests, by such pitiful sophisms and such confused and indigested notions that one would vehemently suspect those men usurped the name of Free-thinkers with the same view that hypocrites do that of godliness, that it may serve for a cloke to cover the contrary defect?

I shall close this discourse with a parallel reflexion on these three species, who seem to be allied by a certain agreement in mediocrity of understanding. A Critic is entirely given up to the pursuit of learning; when he has got it, is his judgment clearer, his imagination livelier, or his manners more polite than those of other men? Is it observed that a Miser, when he has acquired his superfluous estate, eats, drinks, or sleeps with more satisfaction, that he has a cheerfuller mind, or relishes any of the enjoyments of life better than his neighbours? The Free-thinkers plead hard for a licence to think freely; they have it: but what use do they make of it? Are they eminent for any sublime discoveries in any of the arts and sciences? have they been authors of any inventions that conduce to the well-being of mankind? Do their writings shew a greater depth of design, a clearer method, or more just and correct reasoning than those of other men?

There is a great resemblance in their genius, but the Critic and Miser are only ridiculous and contemptible creatures, while the Free-thinker is also a pernicious one.

XII

THE CHRISTIAN IDEAS OF GOD[1]

'Mens agitat molem . . .' —VIRG. *Æn.* 6. v. 727.
'A mind informs the mass.'

To one who regards things with a philosophical eye, and hath a soul capable of being delighted with the sense that truth and knowledge prevail among men, it must be a grateful reflexion to think that the sublimest truths, which among the heathens only here and there one of brighter parts and more leisure than ordinary could attain to, are now grown familiar to the meanest inhabitants of these nations.

Whence came this surprising change, that regions formerly inhabited by ignorant and savage people should now outshine ancient Greece, and the other eastern countries, so renowned of old, in the most elevated notions of theology and morality? Is it the effect of our own parts and industry? Have our common mechanics more refined understandings than the ancient philosophers? It is owing to the God of Truth, who came down from heaven, and condescended to be Himself our teacher. It is as we are Christians that we profess more excellent and divine truths than the rest of mankind.

If there be any of the Free-thinkers who are not direct atheists, charity would incline one to believe them ignorant of what is here advanced. And it is for their information that I write this paper, the design of which is to compare the ideas that Christians entertain of the being and attributes of a God, with the gross notions of the Heathen world. Is it possible for the mind of man to conceive a more august idea of the Deity than is set forth in the Holy Scriptures? I shall throw together some passages relating to this subject, which I propose only as philosophical sentiments, to be considered by a Free-thinker.

'Though there be that are called gods, yet to us there

[1] *Guardian*, No. 88, Monday, June 22, 1713, attributed to Berkeley on internal evidence, as well as on the reputed authority of Steele.

is but one God. He made the heaven, and heaven of heavens, with all their host; the earth and all things that are therein; the seas and all that is therein; He said, let them be, and it was so. He hath stretched forth the heavens. He hath founded the earth and hung it upon nothing. He hath shut up the sea with doors, and said, Hitherto shalt thou come and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed. The Lord is an invisible spirit, in whom we live, and move, and have our being. He is the fountain of life. He preserveth man and beast. He giveth food to all flesh. In His hand is the soul of every living thing, and the breath of all mankind. The Lord maketh poor and maketh rich. He bringeth low and lifteth up. He killeth and maketh alive. He woundeth and He healeth. By Him kings reign, and princes decree justice, and not a sparrow falleth to the ground without Him. All angels, authorities, and powers are subject to Him. He appointeth the moon for seasons, and the sun knoweth His going down. He thundereth with His voice, and directeth it under the whole heaven, and His lightning unto the ends of the earth. Fire and hail, snow and vapour, wind and storm, fulfil His word. The Lord is King for ever and ever, and His dominion is an everlasting dominion. The earth and the heavens shall perish, but Thou, O Lord, remainest. They all shall wax old as doth a garment, and as a vesture shalt Thou fold them up, and they shall be changed; but Thou art the same, and Thy years shall have no end. God is perfect in knowledge; His understanding is infinite. He is the Father of lights. He looketh to the ends of the earth, and seeth under the whole heaven. The Lord beholdeth all the children of men from the place of His habitation, and considereth all their works. He knoweth our down-sitting and up-rising. He compasseth our path and counteth our steps. He is acquainted with all our ways; and when we enter our closet and shut our door He seeth us. He knoweth the things that come into our mind, every one of them: and no thought can be withholden from Him. The Lord is good to all, and His tender mercies are over all His works. He is a Father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widow. He is the God of peace, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort and consolation. The

Lord is great, and we know Him not; His greatness is unsearchable. Who but He hath measured the waters in the hollow of His hand, and meted out the heavens with a span? Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty. Thou art very great, Thou art clothed with honour. Heaven is Thy throne and earth is Thy footstool.'

Can the mind of a philosopher rise to a more just and magnificent, and at the same time a more amiable idea of the Deity than is here set forth in the strongest images and most emphatical language? And yet this is the language of shepherds and fishermen. The illiterate Jews and poor persecuted Christians retained these noble sentiments, while the polite and powerful nations of the earth were given up to that sottish sort of worship of which the following elegant description is extracted from one of the inspired writers.

'Who hath formed a god, and molten an image that is profitable for nothing? The smith with the tongs both worketh in the coals and fashioneth it with hammers, and worketh it with the strength of his arms: yea, he is hungry and his strength faileth. He drinketh no water and is faint. A man planteth an ash, and the rain doth nourish it. He burneth part thereof in the fire. He roasteth roast. He warmeth himself. And the residue thereof he maketh a god. He falleth down unto it, and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, Deliver me, for thou art my god. None considereth in his heart, I have burnt part of it in the fire, yea also, I have baked bread upon the coals thereof: I have roasted flesh and eaten it; and shall I make the residue thereof an abomination? Shall I fall down to the stock of a tree?'

In such circumstances as these, for a man to declare for free-thinking, and disengage himself from the yoke of idolatry, were doing honour to human nature, and a work well becoming the great asserters of reason. But in a church, where our adoration is directed to the Supreme Being, and (to say the least) where is nothing either in the object or manner of worship that contradicts the light of nature; there, under the pretence of free-thinking, to rail at the religious institutions of their country, sheweth an undistinguishing genius that mistakes opposition for

freedom of thought. And, indeed, notwithstanding the pretences of some few among our Free-thinkers, I can hardly think there are men so stupid and inconsistent with themselves, as to have a serious regard for Natural Religion, and at the same time use their utmost endeavours to destroy the credit of those sacred Writings, which as they have been the means of bringing these parts of the world to the knowledge of natural religion, so in case they lose their authority over the minds of men, we should of course sink into the same idolatry which we see practised by other unenlightened nations.

If a person who exerts himself in the modern way of free-thinking be not a stupid idolater, it is undeniable that he contributes all he can to the making other men so, either by ignorance or design; which lays him under the dilemma, I will not say of being a fool or knave, but of incurring the contempt or detestation of mankind.

XIII

CHRISTIAN IDEAS OF A FUTURE STATE[1]

'Igneus est ollis vigor, et cœlestis origo
Seminibus———' VIRG. *Æn.* 6. v. 730.

'They boast ethereal vigour, and are form'd
From seeds of heavenly birth.'

THE same faculty of reason and understanding, which placeth us above the brute part of the creation, doth also subject our minds to greater and more manifold disquiets than creatures of an inferior rank are sensible of. It is by this that we anticipate future disasters, and oft create to ourselves real pain from imaginary evils, as well as multiply the pangs arising from those which cannot be avoided.

It behoves us therefore to make the best use of that sublime talent, which, so long as it continues the instrument of passion, will serve only to make us more miserable, in proportion as we are more excellent than other beings.

It is the privilege of a thinking being to withdraw from

[1] *Guardian*, No. 89, Tuesday, June 23, 1713.

the objects that solicit his senses, and turn his thoughts inward on himself. For my own part I often mitigate the pain arising from the little misfortunes and disappointments that checker human life by this introversion of my faculties, wherein I regard my own soul as the image of her Creator, and receive great consolation from beholding those perfections which testify her divine original, and lead me into some knowledge of her everlasting archetype.

But there is not any property or circumstance of my being that I contemplate with more joy than my Immortality. I can easily overlook any present momentary sorrow, when I reflect that it is in my power to be happy a thousand years hence. If it were not for this thought, I had rather be an oyster than a man, the most stupid and senseless of animals than a reasonable mind tortured with an extreme innate desire of that perfection which it despairs to obtain.

It is with great pleasure that I behold instinct, reason, and faith concurring to attest this comfortable truth. It is revealed from heaven, it is discovered by philosophers, and the ignorant, unenlightened part of mankind have a natural propensity to believe it. It is an agreeable entertainment to reflect on the various shapes under which this doctrine has appeared in the world. The Pythagorean transmigration, the sensual habitations of the Mahometan, and the shady realms of Pluto, do all agree in the main points, the continuation of our existence, and the distribution of rewards and punishments, proportioned to the merits or demerits of men in this life.

But in all these schemes there is something gross and improbable, that shocks a reasonable and speculative mind. Whereas nothing can be more rational and sublime than the Christian idea of a Future State. 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive the things which God hath prepared for those that love him.' The above-mentioned schemes are narrow transcripts of our present state: but in this indefinite description there is something ineffably great and noble. The mind of man must be raised to a higher pitch, not only to partake the enjoyments of the Christian Paradise, but even to be able to frame any notion of them.

Nevertheless, in order to gratify our imagination, and

by way of condescension to our low way of thinking, the ideas of light, glory, a crown, &c. are made use of to adumbrate that which we cannot directly understand. 'The Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes. And there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away, and behold all things are new. There shall be no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the sun: for the Lord God giveth them light, and shall make them drink of the river of his pleasures; and they shall reign for ever and ever. They shall receive a crown of glory which fadeth not away.'

These are cheering reflexions; and I have often wondered that men could be found so dull and phlegmatic as to prefer the thought of annihilation before them; or so ill-natured as to endeavour to persuade mankind to the disbelief of what is so pleasing and profitable even in the prospect; or so blind as not to see that there is a Deity, and if there be, that this scheme of things flows from his attributes, and evidently corresponds with the other parts of his creation.

I know not how to account for this absurd turn of thought, except it proceed from a want of other employment joined with an affectation of singularity. I shall, therefore, inform our modern Free-thinkers of two points whereof they seem to be ignorant. The first is, that it is not the being singular, but being singular for something, that argues either extraordinary endowments of nature, or benevolent intentions to mankind, which draws the admiration and esteem of the world. A mistake in this point naturally arises from that confusion of thought which I do not remember to have seen so great instances of in any writers as in certain modern Free-thinkers.

The other point is, that there are innumerable objects within the reach of a human mind, and each of these objects may be viewed in innumerable lights and positions, and the relations arising between them are innumerable. There is, therefore, an infinity of things whereon to employ their thoughts, if not with advantage to the world, at least with amusement to themselves, and without offence

or prejudice to other people. If they proceed to exert their talent of free-thinking in this way, they may be innocently dull, and no one take any notice of it. But to see men without either wit or argument pretend to run down divine and human laws, and treat their fellow-subjects with contempt for professing a belief of those points on which the present as well as future interest of mankind depends, is not to be endured. For my own part, I shall omit no endeavours to render their persons as despicable, and their practices as odious, in the eye of the world, as they deserve.

XIV

MORAL ATTRACTION[1]

'Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto.'
TER. *Heaut.* Act 1. Sc. 1.

'I am a man, and have a fellow feeling of every thing belonging to man.'

IF we consider the whole scope of the creation that lies within our view, the moral and intellectual, as well as the natural and corporeal, we shall perceive throughout a certain correspondence of the parts, a similitude of operation and unity of design, which plainly demonstrate the universe to be the work of one infinitely good and wise Being; and that the system of thinking beings is actuated by laws derived from the same divine power which ordained those by which the corporeal system is upheld.

From the contemplation of the order, motion, and cohesion of natural bodies, philosophers are now agreed that there is a mutual attraction between the most distant parts at least of this solar system. All those bodies that revolve round the sun are drawn towards each other, and towards the sun, by some secret, uniform and never-ceasing principle. Hence it is that the earth (as well as the other planets) without flying off in a tangent line,

[1] *Guardian*, No. 126, Wednesday, August 5, 1713. This was three months before Berkeley left London on his way to Italy as Lord Peterborough's chaplain.

constantly rolls about the sun, and the moon about the earth, without deserting her companion in so many thousand years. And as the larger systems of the universe are held together by this cause, so likewise the particular globes derive their cohesion and consistence from it.

Now, if we carry our thoughts from the corporeal to the moral world, we may observe in the Spirits or Minds of men a like principle of attraction, whereby they are drawn together in communities, clubs, families, friendships, and all the various species of society. As in bodies, where the quantity is the same, the attraction is strongest between those which are placed nearest to each other, so it is likewise in the minds of men, *cæteris paribus*, between those which are most nearly related. Bodies that are placed at the distance of many millions of miles may nevertheless attract and constantly operate on each other, although this action do not shew itself by an union or approach of those distant bodies, so long as they are withheld by the contrary forces of other bodies, which, at the same time, attract them different ways, but would, on the supposed removal of all other bodies, mutually approach and unite with each other. The like holds with regard to the human soul, whose affection towards the individuals of the same species who are distantly related to it is rendered inconspicuous by its more powerful attraction towards those who have a nearer relation to it. But as those are removed the tendency which before lay concealed doth gradually disclose itself.

A man who has no family is more strongly attracted towards his friends and neighbours; and, if absent from these, he naturally falls into an acquaintance with those of his own city or country who chance to be in the same place. Two Englishmen meeting at Rome or Constantinople soon run into a familiarity. And in China or Japan Europeans would think their being so a good reason for their uniting in particular converse. Farther, in case we suppose ourselves translated into Jupiter or Saturn, and there to meet a Chinese or other more distant native of our own planet, we should look on him as a near relation, and readily commence a friendship with him. These are natural reflexions, and such as

may convince us that we are linked by an imperceptible chain to every individual of the human race.

The several great bodies which compose the solar system are kept from joining together at the common centre of gravity by the rectilinear motions the Author of nature has impressed on each of them; which, concurring with the attractive principle, form their respective orbits round the sun: upon the ceasing of which motions, the general law of gravitation that is now thwarted would shew itself by drawing them all into one mass. After the same manner, in the parallel case of society, private passions and motions of the soul do often obstruct the operation of that benevolent uniting instinct implanted in human nature; which, notwithstanding, doth still exert, and will not fail to shew itself when those obstructions are taken away.

The mutual gravitation of bodies cannot be explained any other way than by resolving it into the immediate operation of God, who never ceases to dispose and actuate his creatures in a manner suitable to their respective beings. So neither can that reciprocal attraction in the minds of men be accounted for by any other cause. It is not the result of education, law, or fashion; but is a principle originally ingrafted in the very first formation of the soul by the Author of our nature.

And as the attractive power in bodies is the most universal principle which produceth innumerable effects, and is a key to explain the various phenomena of nature; so the corresponding social appetite in human souls is the great spring and source of moral actions. This it is that inclines each individual to an intercourse with his species, and models every one to that behaviour which best suits with the common well-being. Hence that sympathy in our nature whereby we feel the pains and joys of our fellow creatures. Hence that prevalent love in parents towards their children, which is neither founded on the merit of the object, nor yet on self-interest. It is this that makes us inquisitive concerning the affairs of distant nations which can have no influence on our own. It is this that extends our care to future generations, and excites us to acts of beneficence towards those who are not yet in being, and consequently from whom

we can expect no recompense. In a word, hence rises that diffusive sense of Humanity so unaccountable to the selfish man who is untouched with it, and is, indeed, a sort of monster or anomalous production.

These thoughts do naturally suggest the following particulars. First, That as social inclinations are absolutely necessary to the well-being of the world, it is the duty and interest of each individual to cherish and improve them to the benefit of mankind; the duty, because it is agreeable to the intention of the Author of our being, who aims at the common good of his creatures, and as an indication of his will, hath implanted the seeds of mutual benevolence in our souls; the interest, because the good of the whole is inseparable from that of the parts; in promoting therefore the common good, every one doth at the same time promote his own private interest. Another observation I shall draw from the premises is, That it makes a signal proof of the divinity of the Christian religion, that the main duty which it inculcates above all others is charity. Different maxims and precepts have distinguished the different sects of philosophy and religion: our Lord's peculiar precept is, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself. By this shall all men know that you are My disciples, if you love one another.'

I will not say that what is a most shining proof of our religion is not often a reproach to its professors; but this I think very plain, that, whether we regard the analogy of nature, as it appears in the mutual attraction or gravitations of the mundane system, in the general frame and constitution of the human soul, or lastly, in the ends and aptnesses which are discoverable in all parts of the visible and intellectual world, we shall not doubt but the precept which is the characteristic of our religion came from the Author of nature. Some of our modern Free-thinkers would indeed insinuate the Christian morals to be defective, because (say they) there is no mention made in the gospel of the virtue of friendship[1].

[1] See Shaftesbury's *Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour*, Pt. II. sect. 3. The Third Dialogue in *Alciphron* may be compared with this early criticism of Shaftesbury as a representative 'free-thinker,' and both with Dr. Fowler's estimate of the author of the *Characteristics*, in his *Shaftesbury and Hutcheson* (1882).

These sagacious men (if I may be allowed the use of that vulgar saying) 'cannot see the wood for trees.' That a religion whereof the main drift is to inspire its professors with the most noble and disinterested spirit of love, charity, and beneficence to all mankind, or, in other words, with a friendship to every individual man, should be taxed with the want of that very virtue, is surely a glaring evidence of the blindness and prejudice of its adversaries.

TWO SERMONS PREACHED

AT

LEGHORN IN 1714

First published in 1871

NOTE

These two Sermons were found among the Berkeley MSS. of Archdeacon Rose, in Berkeley's handwriting. They were delivered at Leghorn, where he spent the Spring of 1714, when he was Lord Peterborough's chaplain, in his first visit to Italy. They are the only extant specimens of his way of addressing an ordinary Christian congregation; for his 'discourses' in the chapel of Trinity College in 1708 and 1712, and in London in 1732, were for an academical, or an otherwise select audience. They are simple and practical rather than profound. 'Strong in the faith of the Catholic Church on all important points, this great writer,' says Archdeacon Rose, 'uses them as acknowledged among Christians; and taking them as his starting-points, he illustrates them, and sometimes confirms them, but for the most part applies them to Christian practice.'

Basil Kennet, author of *Roman Antiquities*, and a friend of Addison, was chaplain of the English factory at Leghorn during Berkeley's stay, and it was in his chapel that Berkeley preached.

SERMONS PREACHED AT LEGHORN

I

THE MISSION OF CHRIST[1]

1 Tim. i. 15.

This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.

As there is not any subject on which we can employ our thoughts with more advantage and comfort than the life and sufferings of our blessed Saviour, and the inestimable benefits that it is in our power to receive thereby, so we ought frequently to make them the subject of our meditations; especially at this time, which is appointed by the Church for a peculiar season of contrition and repentance, and a devout preparation of ourselves for the reception of the Holy Sacrament. But that you may clearly see the necessity and importance of our Saviour's coming into the world, it will be necessary to reflect on the state in which mankind was before His coming amongst them. The whole world was then comprehended under two general heads of Jews and Gentiles; and that the wisdom and goodness of God in sending the Messiah upon earth may be made more manifest unto you, I shall consider the condition and circumstances of each of these distinctly; and first of the Gentiles.

By whom we are to understand all those nations that had no other guides to direct them in the conduct of life and pursuit of happiness besides reason and common sense, which are otherwise called the light of nature.

[1] [Preached at Leghorne, on Palm Sunday, 1714.]—Author.

They had no inspired writings to inform them of the being and attributes of God, or of the worth and immortality of their own souls: no lawgivers to explain to them that manner of worship by which the Supreme Being was to be adored: no prophets or apostles to reclaim them from their evil ways and warn them of the wrath to come, or to encourage them to a good life by laying before them the infinite and eternal happiness, which in another world shall be the portion of those who practise virtue and innocence in this.

It must indeed be owned that the Gentiles might by a due use of their reason, by thought and study, observing the beauty and order of the world, and the excellence and profitableness of virtue, have obtained some sense of a Providence and of Religion; agreeably to which the apostle saith that the invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, and understood by the things which are made, even His eternal power and Godhead. But how few were they who made this use of their reason, or lived according to it! Perhaps here and there one among those who were called Philosophers, while the bulk of mankind, being diverted by the vain pursuits of riches and honours and sensual pleasures from cultivating their minds by knowledge and virtue, sunk into the grossest ignorance, idolatry and superstition. Professing themselves wise, they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image, made like to corruptible man, and to birds and fourfooted beasts and creeping things. Their sacred rites were polluted with acts of uncleanness and debauchery; and human sacrifice often stained the altars erected to their Deities. It would take up too much time to recount all the extravagant follies and cruelties which made up the belief and practice of their religion: as their burning their own children to the God Moloch in the valley of Hinnom; their adoring oxen and serpents or inanimate things as the sun and stars, and certain plants or fruits of the earth, which things are at this day practised by many nations where the glorious light of the Gospel has not yet shone. I shall conclude this account of their idolatry by the following description of it taken out of the Prophet Isaiah:—'A man planteth an ash, and the rain doth nourish it. Then shall it be for a man to burn:

for he will take thereof, and warm himself; yea, he kindleth it, and baketh bread; yea, he maketh a god, and worshippeth it; he maketh it a graven image, and falleth down thereto. He burneth part thereof in the fire; with part thereof he eateth flesh; he roasteth roast, and is satisfied: yea, he warmeth himself, and saith, Aha, I am warm, I have seen the fire: and the residue thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image: he falleth down unto it, and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, Deliver me; for thou art my god. They have not known nor understood: for he hath shut their eyes, that they cannot see; and their hearts, that they cannot understand. And none considereth in his heart, neither is there knowledge nor understanding to say, I have burned part of it in the fire; yea, also I have baked bread upon the coals thereof; I have roasted flesh, and eaten it: and shall I make the residue thereof an abomination? shall I fall down to the stock of a tree?'

In such circumstances as these, for a man to declare for free-thinking, and disengage himself from the yoke of idolatry, were doing honour to Human Nature, and a work well becoming the great assertors of Reason. But in a church where our adoration is directed to the Supreme Being, and (to say the least) where is nothing in the object or manner of our worship that contradicts the light of nature, there, under the pretence of Free-thinking to rail at the religious institutions of their country, sheweth an undistinguishing mind that mistakes the spirit of opposition for freedom of thought. But to return.

Suitable to their religion were the lives of our ancestors: our ancestors, I say, who before the coming of our blessed Saviour made part of the Gentiles, the rest of the heathen world, sate in darkness and the shadow of death. In those days of ignorance and estrangement from the living God, it is hardly to be conceived what a deluge of licence and iniquity overwhelmed mankind. It cannot indeed be denied that vice is too common amongst us now, but, however, virtue is in some reputation. The frequent denouncing of God's judgments against sinners hath some effect on our consciences; and even the reprobate who hath extinguished in himself all notion of religion is oft restrained by a sense of decency and shame from those

actions which are held in abhorrence by all good Christians, whereas in the times of Gentilism, men were given up to work uncleanness with greediness. Lust and intemperance knew no bounds, and our forefathers acted those crimes publicly and without remorse from which they apprehended neither shame nor punishment. St. Paul gives us a catalogue of their crimes when he tells us they 'were filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents; without understanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful.'

What a frightful picture of our forefathers; but we may still see too much of it among ourselves not to believe it true. Now when so thick a darkness had covered the world, how expedient was it that the Sun of Righteousness should arise with healing on His wings! When the general state of mankind was so deplorable, how necessary was it that Christ Jesus should come into the world to save sinners!

And the like necessity of a Saviour will appear also with relation to the Jews, if we reflect on their state. These were indeed the chosen people of God, who, as such, had vouchsafed to them many extraordinary miracles, prophecies, and revelations. They had a law imparted to them from Heaven, together with frequent assurances and instances of the Divine protection so long as they continued in the observance of it. But we must consider in the first place that the ancient ceremonial Law was a yoke which, as the apostle tells the Jews of his time, neither they nor their fathers were able to bear. Their circumcision, sacrifices, purifications, abstaining from meats and the like ordinances, were burdensome and carnal; such as in themselves could not perfect or regenerate the soul. And are therefore to be considered as having a further view, inasmuch as they were types and prefigurations of the Messiah and the Spiritual Religion that He was to introduce into the world. And as proofs that this ritual way of worship accommodated to the carnal and stiffnecked Jews was not the most acceptable to God, there occur several passages even in the Old Testament. Thus, for example, in the

Prophet Isaiah, 'To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the fat of your burnt offerings of rams and of the fat of the fed beasts. Bring no more oblations, incense is an abomination unto me. The new moons and sabbaths I cannot away with. Cease to do evil; learn to do well. Seek judgment, relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.'

But, secondly, the moral Law was not arrived to its full perfection under the dispensation of the Jews. They were borne with on many points upon the account of the hardness of their hearts. The adhering to one and the same wife, the forgiving our enemies and loving our neighbours as ourselves, are precepts peculiar to Christianity[1]. To the wisdom of God it did not seem convenient that the Law at first proposed to the Jews should enjoin the most heroic strains of charity or the height and purity of Christian virtue; but rather by morals less severe, and figures of things to come, to prepare their minds for the more perfect and spiritual doctrine of the Gospel. In regard to which we may say with the apostle, that the Law was a schoolmaster to bring the Jews to Christ.

Thirdly, the knowledge of a future state was not so clearly and fully revealed to the Jews. These hopes do not generally seem to have reached beyond the grave. Conquests over their enemies, peace and prosperity at home, a land flowing with milk and honey. These and such like temporal enjoyments were the rewards they expected of their obedience; as on the other hand the evils commonly denounced against them were plagues, famines, captivities, and the like. Pursuant to which, we find the Resurrection to have been a controverted point among the Jews, maintained by the Pharisees, and denied by the Sadducees. So obscure and dubious was the revelation of another world before life and immortality were brought to light by the Gospel.

We should further consider that it was in vain to expect salvation by the works of the Law; since it was impossible for human nature to perform a perfect unsinning obedience to it. We are told that even the righteous man falls

[1] This statement requires modification. See Lev. xix. 18.

seven times in a day. Such is the frailty of our nature, and so many and various are the temptations which on all sides assault us from the world, the flesh, and the devil, that we cannot live without sinning at least in word and thought. And the unavoidable reward of sin was death. Do this and live was the condition of the old covenant; and seeing that by the corruption of our nature derived from our first parents we were unable to fulfil that condition, we must without another covenant have been all necessarily included under the sentence of death. Agreeably to which St. Paul saith, 'As many as are of the works of the Law are under the curse. For it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all the things that are written in the book of the Law to do them.'

You see, from what has been said, the miserable forlorn condition of all mankind, both Jews and Gentiles, in former ages; and we should still have continued in the same state of sin and estrangement from God, were it not that 'the Day-Spring from on high hath visited us'—were it not for Him of whom Isaiah foretold: 'The Gentiles shall come to Thy light, and the kings of the Gentiles to Thy rising'—the ever blessed Son of God, who came down upon earth to be our Teacher, our Redeemer, our Mediator. [Well, therefore, may we be filled with gladness and cry out with the prophet, 'Sing, O heaven, and rejoice, O earth, and break forth into singing, O ye mountains! for the Lord hath comforted His people and will have mercy on His afflicted.'] How just an occasion have we here of comfort and joy. What if we were by nature ignorant and brutish, we have now the glorious light of the Gospel shining among us, and instead of worshipping stocks and stones are brought to adore the living God? What if we are encompassed with snares and afflictions in this present world? We have the grace of God and the blessed hope of eternity to strengthen and support us. In fine, what if we have merited the wrath of God and vengeance of Heaven by our sins and transgressions, since this is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners? which words, that you may the better understand, it will be necessary to explain unto you. The second point pressed, viz. how and in what sense Jesus

Christ promotes the salvation of sinners. And this He has done in four respects. Firstly, by His preaching; secondly, by His example; thirdly, by His death; and fourthly, by His intercession.

First, I say, by His preaching. As there is nothing which renders us so acceptable to God as a good life, which consists in the practice of virtue and holiness, it was highly necessary, in order to put us in a capacity of salvation, that our duty should be plainly laid before us, and recommended in the most powerful and persuasive manner. This has been effectually performed by our Lord and His apostles, who went about preaching the Word of God, and exhorting all men to forsake their evil ways and follow after righteousness, to become just and sober, and chaste and charitable; in a word, to discharge all the several offices and duties of life in a blameless and exemplary manner. Jew and Gentile are equally called upon in the Gospel, and morality is there advanced to a degree of purity and perfection beyond either the Law of Moses or the precepts of the wisest of the heathen. And that no motives or engagements to the observation of it may be wanting, we have, on the one hand, the highest and most inestimable rewards, and on the other hand, the sorest and most terrific punishments proposed to us. But as example is oftentimes found no less instructive than precept, and to the end all methods might be employed to rescue man from the slavery of sin and death, our blessed Lord condescended to take upon Him human nature, that He might become a living example of all those virtues which we are required to practise. His whole life was spent in acts of charity, meekness, patience, and every good work. He has not only told us our duty, but also shewed us how to perform it, having made Himself a perfect pattern of holiness for our imitation. And this is the second method whereby Christ contributes to save sinners.

In the next place we are to observe, that as our blessed Saviour omitted no instance of love and goodness to mankind, not only His life, but His death also, was of the last importance to our redemption. Such is the infinite purity and holiness of Almighty God, that we could not hope for any reconciliation with Him, so long as our souls were stained by the filthiness and pollution of sin. But neither

could rivers of the blood of rams and bulls, or of our own tears, have been sufficient to wash out those stains. It is in the unalterable nature of things that sin be followed by punishment. For crimes cried aloud to Heaven for vengeance, and the justice of God made it necessary to inflict it. [Behold, then, mankind at an infinite distance from Heaven, and happiness oppressed with a load of guilt, and condemned to a punishment equal to the guilt, which was infinitely heightened and aggravated by the Majesty of the offended God! Such was our forlorn, hopeless condition,] when lo! the Lamb of God, the Eternal Son of the Father, clothed Himself with flesh and blood that He may tread the wine-press of the wrath of God, and offer Himself a ransom for us. He sheds His own blood that He may purge away our sins, and submits to the shameful punishment of the Cross, that by His death He may open to us the door to eternal life.

Lastly, having broke asunder the bands of death, and triumphed over the grave, He ascended to Heaven, where He now sitteth at the right hand of God, ever making intercession for us. To this purpose speaks the apostle to the Hebrews, in the following manner:—'Christ Jesus, because He continueth for ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood. Wherefore, also, He is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by Him, seeing He ever liveth to make intercession for them.' And should not this be an occasion of unspeakable comfort to us, that we have the Son of God for our advocate, even His ever-blessed Son, whom He hath appointed Heir of all things, who hath so great love for men that He never ceases to plead our cause and solicit our pardon. And this is the fourth way whereby our Lord makes good the words of my text, that this is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. It appears, then, from what hath been said, that sinners shall be saved; and, if so, may we not sin on in hopes that we shall go to Heaven when we can sin no longer? The lives of too many Christians would persuade us they entertain such thoughts as these. But let us not deceive ourselves, and abuse the method which the good providence of God designed for our salvation, cross the gracious designs of Heaven, and treasure

up to ourselves vengeance against the day of wrath. Can we be so foolish as to think our Holy Redeemer led a life of spotless innocence upon earth, in order to procure us a licence to taste the pleasures of sin? Must He be humble that we may be proud and arrogant? Must He live in poverty that we may make a god of riches, and heap them together by avarice and extortion? Shall the Son of God give His body to be crucified that we may pamper our flesh in drunkenness and gluttony? Or can we hope that He will without ceasing intercede with the Father in behalf of those wretches who, instead of praying for this mercy at His hands, are perpetually blaspheming His name with oaths and curses?

But you will say, are not these sinners saved? I answer, it is true sinners are saved. But not those who tread under foot the Son of God, and do despite to the Spirit of Grace. Christ Jesus came into the world to save repenting sinners. If we will be saved, we must do something on our parts also, and, without relying altogether on the sufferings and merits of Christ, work out our own salvation with fear and trembling.

The good tidings of the Gospel amount, in short, to no more than this: that we shall be saved if we repent and believe! But we must not suppose that this repentance consists only in a sorrow for sin; there must be a forsaking of our evil ways, a reformation and amendment of life. Neither must it be thought that the faith here required is an empty, notional belief. 'Thou believest,' saith St. James, 'thou doest well: the devils also believe and tremble; but wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead.' The faith of a true Christian must be a lively faith that sanctifies the heart, and shews itself in the fruits of the Spirit.

By nature we are vessels of wrath polluted with the original corruption of our first parents and our own manifold transgressions, whereas by the grace of God, shewed forth in Christ Jesus, our sins are purged away, and our sincere, though imperfect endeavours are accepted. But without these sincere endeavours, without this lively faith and unfeigned repentance, to hope for salvation is senseless. We cannot be guilty of a more fatal mistake than to think the Christian warfare a thing to be performed with

ease and indifference. It is a work of difficulty that requires our utmost care and attention, and must be made the main business of our lives. We must pluck out the right eye, cut off the right hand, that is, subdue our darling affections, cast off our beloved and bosom sin, if we have a mind to enter into the kingdom of Heaven. He that will partake of the benefits of the Gospel, must endeavour to live up to the precepts of it—to be pure and innocent in mind and manners, to love God with all his heart, and with all his strength, and his neighbour as himself. There must be no hatred, no malice, no slandering, no envy, no strife in a regenerate Christian. But all love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, the most ardent and diffusive charity, ever abounding in good works, and promoting his neighbour's interest as his own. You see how great obligations our profession lays upon us. How far short of these do the performances of most men fall! What, I beseech you, does the piety of a modern Christian commonly amount to? He is indeed content to retain the name of that profession into which he was admitted by baptism, but without taking any care to fulfil his baptismal vow, or, it may be, without so much as ever thinking of it. He may, perhaps, in a fit of the spleen, or sickness, or old age, when he has no longer any ability or temptation to sin, entertain some slight thoughts of turning to God while the strength and flower of his age is spent in the service of Satan. Or sometimes he may give a penny to a poor naked wretch that he may relieve himself from the pain of seeing a miserable object[1]. On a Sunday, in compliance with the custom of our country, we dress ourselves and go to church. But what is it that folks do in church? When they have paid their compliments to one another, they lift up their hands and eyes to God, but their hearts are far from Him! Prayers and thanksgivings are now over, without zeal or fervour, without a sense of our own littleness and wants, or the majesty of that God whom we adore. The warmest and most

[1] This is altered on the opposite page thus: 'Neither must we rely on outward performances, without an inward and sincere piety. What avails it to frequent the public service of the Church, if, when we lift up our hands and eyes to God, our hearts are far from Him?'

seraphic hymns are pronounced with a cold indifference, and sermons heard without one resolution of being the better for them, or putting one word of them in practice. God declares that He has no pleasure in the death of a sinner, but had rather that he would turn from his wickedness and live. Why then will ye die? 'I have spread out my hands, saith the Lord, all the day to a rebellious people, a people that provoketh Me continually to My face. I have spread out My hands.' God, you see, is desirous and earnest for our conversion, and ready to receive us! Why then should we be negligent in what concerns our salvation? And shall all those methods which God has used to bring us to Him be in vain? Shall we frustrate the mission and sufferings of His well-beloved Son? The infinite pangs and sufferings that He underwent in the work of our redemption should, one would think, soften the most obdurate heart, and dispose us to suitable returns of love and duty.

The prophet Isaiah, several hundred years before our Saviour's birth, gives the following lively description of His sufferings:—'He was despised, and we esteemed Him not. Surely He hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem Him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon Him; and with His stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all. He was oppressed, and He was afflicted, yet He opened not His mouth: He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so He openeth not His mouth.' And does it seem a small thing to you that the blessed Son of God, by whom He made the worlds, who is the brightness of His glory and the express image of His person, should quit the happy mansions of Heaven to come down upon earth and take upon Himself the punishment of our sins? That He who could command legions of angels should, for our sakes, submit to the insults and scorn of the lowest of mankind? Figure to yourselves His head dishonoured with an ignominious crown of thorns, His face spit upon, and buffeted by an impious and profane rabble! His flesh

torn with scourges, His hands and feet pierced with nails, blood and water streaming from His side! His ears wounded with taunts and reproaches! And that mouth which uttered the glad tidings of salvation, filled with gall and vinegar! in fine, figure to yourselves His sacred body hung upon a cross, there to expire in lingering torments between thieves and malefactors! But who can figure to himself, or what imagination is able to comprehend the unutterable agony that He felt within when the cup of the fury of God was poured out upon His soul, and His spirit laboured under the guilt of all mankind? Can we think on these things, which are all the effects of our sins, and at the same time be untouched with any sense or compunction for them? Shall the sense of those crimes that made our Saviour sweat drops of blood be unable to extort a single tear from us? When the earth quakes, and the rocks are rent, the skies are covered with darkness, and all nature is troubled at the passion of the Lord of Life, shall man alone remain stupid and insensible?

But if we are not generous and grateful enough to be affected with the sufferings of our Saviour, let us, at least, have some regard to our own, and bethink ourselves in this our day of the heavy punishment that awaits every one of us who continues in a course of sin! Let us bethink ourselves that in a few days the healthiest and bravest of us all shall lie mingled with the common dust, and our souls be disposed of by an irreversible decree, that no tears, no humiliation, no repentance, can avail on the other side of the grave! But it is now in our power to avoid the torments of the place where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched, provided that we repent of our sins, and, for the time to come, 'denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we live soberly and godly in this present world, looking for that blessed hope and the glorious appearance of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave Himself for us that He may redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a peculiar people zealous of good works.'

That all we here present may be partakers of this redemption, and numbered among this peculiar people, God, of His infinite mercy, grant; to whom be ascribed all honour, praise, power, and dominion, now and for evermore!

II

THE CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF CHARITY[1]

St. John xiii. 35.

By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.

To a man who considers things with candour and attention there are not wanting on all sides invincible proofs of the divinity of the Christian religion. So many prophecies accomplished, so many and so stupendous miracles wrought in the eyes of the world, such a constant uninterrupted tradition sealed with the blood of so many thousand martyrs, such a wonderful spread and propagation of it without human force or artifice, and against the most powerful opposition from the subtilty and rage of its adversaries: these things, I say, with the sublimity of its doctrines and the simplicity of its rites, can leave not a doubt of its coming from God in a mind not sullied with sin, not blinded with prejudice, and not hardened with obstinacy.

But among all the numerous attestations to the divinity of our most holy Faith, there is not any that carries with it a more winning conviction than that which may be drawn from the sweetness and excellency of the Christian morals. There runs throughout the Gospels and Epistles such a spirit of love, gentleness, charity, and good-nature, that as nothing is better calculated to procure the happiness of mankind, so nothing can carry with it a surer evidence of its being derived from the common Father of us all. Herein that paternal love of God to men is visible, that mutual charity is what we are principally enjoined to practise. He doth not require from us costly sacrifices, magnificent temples, or tedious pilgrimages, but only that we should love one another. This is everywhere recommended to us in the most practical and earnest manner both by our Saviour and His apostles.

[1] [Preached at Leghorne.]—Author.

And when our blessed Lord had spent His life upon earth in acts of charity and goodness, and was going to put a period to it by the most amazing instance of love to mankind that was ever shewn, He leaves this precept as a legacy to His disciples, 'A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another.' Mark with what earnestness and emphasis our Lord inculcates this commandment. In the compass of a few verses He repeats it thrice. He invites us by His own example to the practice of it, and to bind it on our conscience makes our obedience in this point the mark of our calling. 'By this,' says He, 'shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another.' In treating of which words I shall observe this method:—

First, I shall endeavour to make you sensible of the nature and importance of this duty;

Secondly, I shall lay before you the good effects it is attended with when duly practised; and, in the last place, I shall add some further considerations to persuade you to the observation of it.

First, then, I am to shew the nature and importance of this duty. If you are minded duly to put in practice this evangelical virtue of charity, you must preserve and cherish in your minds a warm affectionate love towards your neighbours. It will not suffice that you have an outward civility and complaisance for each other; this may be good breeding, but there is something more required to make you good Christians. There must be an inward, sincere, disinterested affection that takes root in the heart and shews itself in acts of kindness and benevolence. 'My little children,' saith St. John, 'let us not love in word but in deed and truth.'

In the Gospel use of the word we are all brothers, and we must live together as becomes brethren. Is a poor Christian naked or hungry, you must in proportion to your ability be ready to clothe and feed him; 'for,' says the apostle, 'whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?' Does your brother labour under any bodily infirmity, or

is he likely to incur a danger when it is in your power to relieve or protect him, you must do it cheerfully without grudging the trifling expense or trouble it may put you to, for 'great is your reward in heaven.' Does he take ill courses, does he harden himself in habits of sin, is he led astray by the conversation and example of wicked men, is he remiss in observing the ordinances of religion, or does he shew a contempt of sacred things; 'restore such a one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted. Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.' When your neighbour is in flourishing circumstances you should rejoice at his prosperity, and instead of looking on him with an envious eye, be well pleased to see him thrive in this world and reap the fruits of an honest industry. Or in case his affairs take an unhappy turn, you should be generous enough to feel another's sufferings, and employ your credit or interest to support the sinking fortune of an honest man. Lastly, instead of taking a diabolical pleasure in hearing the faults of other men aggravated or blazed abroad, you must be delighted to hear their virtues celebrated and placed in a public light for the encouragement and imitation of others. We should be slow to believe, displeased to hear, and always averse from propagating any scandalous stories to the disparagement of our neighbours. If they are false, to spread or countenance them is the highest injustice, and if they are true it may be called the highest cruelty. It is not doing as you would be done by to draw the secret failings of your neighbours into the full view of the world; it is a barbarous, savage joy that you take in discovering his sins and imperfections; it is a cruelty not only to him but likewise to other men, inasmuch as vicious examples made public strengthen the party of sinners, spread the contagion of vice, and take off from the horror of it. And yet by a base malignity of temper, men are for the most part better pleased with satire than panegyric, and they can behold with much greater satisfaction the reputation of another stab'd and torn by the venemous[1] tongues of slanderers and detractors than sett[1] off to advantage by the recital of his good actions.

[1] *sic.*

It were an endless task to lay before you all the passages in the New Testament where this duty of charity is recommended to our practice; it is in every page insisted on as the principal, the essential, the distinguishing part of the Christian religion. It is represented as the great scope and design of our Saviour and His apostles preaching in the world. 'For this,' says St. John, 'is the message that you have heard from the beginning, that ye should love one another.' It is set forth as the sum and perfection of the law. Thus St. Paul says to the Romans, 'He that loveth another hath fulfilled the law.' And our blessed Lord Himself hath declared unto us that on the love of God and our neighbour hang all the law and the prophets. Certainly 'tis inculcated and bound upon the conscience as that without which all the spiritual gifts and performances are of no effect.

Though you could speak with the tongues of men and angels, though you had the gift of prophecy and understood all mysteries and all knowledge, and though you had all faith so that you could remove mountains, and have not charity, if you will believe the apostle you are nothing. Nay, though you give all your goods to feed the poor, and though you give your body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth nothing. Numberless are the like passages in the Holy Scripture which enforce this duty in the strongest and most urgent terms. How careful then ought we to be to understand this main point, and how diligent to put it in practice [1].

This charity, without which it is vain to hope for salvation, is understood by too many to consist only in bestowing some trifling part of their fortune on their poor neighbours, which in the expenses of the year is never felt. But by the words last cited from St. Paul you may see that it is possible for a man to give all his goods to the poor and yet want charity. That indeed is a laudable part or rather effect of charity, but it does not complete the entire nature of it. To the end you may not be mis-

[1] On the opposite page of the MS. there is the following passage, without any mark of reference :— 'But altho' the giving of our goods to the poor be not that which alone constitutes and comprehends the true nature of charity, it nevertheless cannot be denied to be a part or branch thereof, or rather an outward and visible effect of that inward grace which is the life of a true Christian.'

taken in this, take the following description of it from the same inspired author: 'Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.' What then shall we say of those Christians who envy the prosperity of other men, who take fire at the least provocation, and are so far from suffering long, that they are for revenging the smallest injury with death, and cannot have satisfaction for a rash word till they have spilled the blood of him that spoke it. In fine, what shall I think of that censorious humour, that austere pride, that sullen, unsociable disposition which some people mistake for religion; whereas, on the contrary, gentleness, good-nature, and humanity are so far from being inconsistent with the true spirit of religion, that they are enjoined as the indispensable duty of all who call upon the name of Christ?

As men are very apt to flatter themselves that God is to be put off with any slight performance of duty, they think that so long as they do not rob or murder or swear their neighbour out of his life, there is nothing more required in order to make them charitable. How charitable are ye that are so jealous of your own interests, you that are so punctilious in point of honour and freedom, you that are thus pleased with scandal, that suck in with delight every idle report that tends to discredit or blast the reputation of your neighbour, that rejoice in any failings and are [never happier than] at the expense of one another. Hear what St. James saith, 'If any man among you seem to be religious and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain.' And if injurious words are certain marks of a reprobate mind, how much more so are bloody quarrels, vexatious [habits?], with all those hellish contrivances to supplant and destroy each other which we see daily practised in the world?

As men are never wanting to excuse ill actions and palliate their faults with one pretext or other, I doubt not it is very possible some among you make [may] think it a

sufficient excuse for calumny and slander that it is used only to pass away the time, for mirth's sake, and now and then to season conversation. But know, O Christian! that the mirth you find in hearing and telling malicious stories, in magnifying every little fault of your neighbour, and putting the worst interpretation on all his actions, is a mirth unbecoming your profession, it is inconsistent with that charity without which you cannot be saved, and however you may do these things in jest, you will be punished for them in earnest.

It may perhaps be pretended as an excuse for the want of charity, that you have to do with men of ill natures, of rough and untractable tempers, and who have no charity themselves for other men. But what says our Saviour, 'If ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same?' And surely it is but just to expect that you who are instructed by the example and precepts of the Son of God, who are animated with the blessed hope of eternity, who are delivered from the power of darkness, and called to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light, should practise a higher strain of virtue than publicans and heathens who are destitute of all these advantages? But others make free with your reputation, or have injured you in your estate or person, and it is reasonable you should make reprisals. But consider, O Christian, whether it be more reasonable in such a case by obeying the uneasy, sinful motions of anger and revenge to expose yourselves to the wrath of Almighty God, or by laying hold of that fair opportunity which is given you to put in practice these Christian virtues of meekness, patience, forgiving injuries, and returning good for evil; turning the designed injuries of an enemy into the greatest blessings that could befall you.

If we would behave ourselves as becomes the disciples of Christ, we must open and enlarge our hearts towards the whole mass of mankind. 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, Love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy.' Our Lord says, 'Love your enemies.' And if we ought to love our enemies, whom ought we not to love? We must therefore above all things be sure to preserve in our souls a constant universal benevolence which extends itself to

all the sons of men. Our charity must not be limited to any sect or party; Turk and Jew, infidel and idolater, and much more the several subdivisions of Christians, are to be the object of our love and good wishes. It is the unhappiness and reproach of Christendom that we are crumbled into so many sects and parties; but whatever grounds or pretences we may have for keeping at a distance from each other in point of opinion, yet for heaven's sake let us be united in the bands of love and charity. Let us not upon the [ground?] of controverted notions transgress and trample under foot the most unquestioned fundamentals of religion. In fine, let us carefully distinguish between the sentiments and the person of our neighbour, and while we condemn the one be sure that we love the other; ever remembering that charity is the principal duty of a Christian, without which all other pretensions to purity of faith or sanctity of life avail nothing at all.

And, as difference in opinion can never justify an uncharitable conduct towards those who differ from us, so neither can difference of interests. My neighbour rivals me in point of riches or honour; he aims at the same employment or carries on the same trade that I do, or there is some difference between us in point of money. In fine, his prosperity interferes with mine. What then! shall I therefore swell with malice, envy, and discontent, and instead of being a child of God, transform myself into a fiend of hell? We must by all means mortify and subdue that base principle of self-love whose views are always turned inwards, which, instead of prompting us to good offices towards our neighbour, will not allow us to have good wishes to any but ourselves. It is interest that sets the world together by the ears, that makes us break (?) with our bosom friends, that fills our hearts with jealousy and disquiet; no personal merit, no ties of consanguinity, no past obligations, are strong enough to oppose the resolutions that it inspires. So long therefore as that continues the governing principle of our lives and actions, we cannot hope to be any great proficients in the necessary and essential duty of charity. Hence we must learn to wean ourselves from our self-interest, or rather learn wherein our true interest consists.

And this leads me to the second point proposed, namely, to shew the good offices that charity is attended with, and how much it conduceth to the interest of those who practise it.

However mistaken, men may be too apt to place their chiefest interest in the slight pleasures and transient enjoyments of this life, in the gratification of some passion, or the gaining of some temporal advantage, yet a man who considers things with any fairness or impartiality will be easily convinced that his chief interest consists in obeying Almighty God, in conforming his life and actions to the will and command of his Creator who first gave him being and still continues to preserve it, whose free gift are all the good things he can enjoy, and who has promised to reward our obedience in this life with eternal happiness hereafter.

But because the spiritual nature of God, though most near and immediately operating on our souls and bodies, is yet invisible to our senses, and because the riches of that place where there is no moth nor rust, and where thieves do not break through and steal, are placed at a distance from our present state, and that men are more powerfully influenced by things which are present and sensible, I shall therefore, waiving all other considerations, apply myself to consider the advantages which the practice of charity is attended with, and how much it conduces to the happiness of men in this present state.

The good effects of charity may be considered either with respect to public communities of men, or with respect to private persons. As to the first, the advantages of an amiable correspondence between different nations are plainly to be seen in traffic and commerce, whereby the product of each particular soil is communicated to distant countries, useful inventions are made common and flourish, and men mutually supply the wants of each other. But when the spirit of ambition or revenge begins to operate, when jealousy of each other's wealth and power divides nations and breaks the bonds of charity, then all those advantages are interrupted, and men, instead of promoting each other's benefit, are employed in destroying one another. Whole provinces are laid waste; cities, palaces, and churches, the work of many ages, are in an instant

demolished and burnt to the ground: thousands of widows and orphans are made in one day; and he who makes the greatest havock of his fellow-Christians is esteemed most worthy of renown and honour. After an infinity of rapes, murders, rapines, sacrileges, when fire and sword have spent their rage, and are glutted with human blood, the dreadful scene often ends in plague or famine, as the natural consequences of war. But, alas! we can only bewail these things without any hopes of reforming them. The commands of God are on all sides forgotten, and when two armies are on the point of engaging, a man would be laughed at who should put them in mind of our Saviour's precept, 'By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another.'

But although all orders of men are involved in these public calamities, yet few there are in whose power it is to remedy or prevent them, whereas it is in the power of every one of us to avoid those infinite mischiefs which arise in private life from a defect of charity.

As different countries are by their respective products fitted to supply each other's wants, so the all-wise providence of God hath ordered that different men are endowed with various talents, whereby they are mutually enabled to assist and promote the happiness of one another. Thus one has health and strength of body, another enjoys the faculties of his mind in greater perfection; one hath riches, another hath learning. This man is fitted for a public station, that for the œconomy of a private life. One man is skilled in this art or profession, another in that. [Note to say that in many instances the single act, industry, or power of every one is ineffectual when the united endeavours of many might avail.] There are in the various qualifications panies, occasions by which a man is rendered capable to give or receive assistance from his neighbour. Hence it is that men find it necessary to unite in friendships and societies, to do mutual good offices and carry on the same designs in harmony and concert. We relieve one another in distress, we bear with each other's infirmities, we study to promote the advantage of each other; that is, in our Saviour's phrase, 'we have love one to the other.' And so long as we continue thus disposed peace and plenty abound,

families live comfortably together, our affairs thrive and flourish in the world, which gives a blessing to our endeavours; every one finds his own interest in advancing that of his neighbour.

Whereas the reverse of this happy state must certainly be expected when men of ill natures and uncharitable tempers are always [envying?] the prosperity and thwarting the designs of each other, where men endeavour to raise their own fortunes and reputations by destroying those of their neighbours, and instead of sweet and friendly conversation entertain one another with satire and invectives. Take a view of the greatest evils that afflict mankind, and you will find that they spring from the want of charity. What factions and cabals, what fierce ments, what dire, revengeful ruptures in families, [what disagree]ments between friends and neighbours take their rise from this source. It is not for nothing that our blessed Saviour was so instant in recommending the grace of charity by His preaching and example; it is not for nothing that the holy apostles insist in almost every page of their epistles upon charity as the principal of Christian virtues, the mark of our calling, the distinguishing badge of our profession. It is for want of this that we see so much poverty, so much care, so much sorrow, so much bloodshed in the world. It is for want of this that when we have made peace abroad, we worry and destroy each other at home; that those which have escaped the [perils of] a war are often thrown over, and the blood which remained unspilt by the enemies of our country is too often poured out to satiate the revenge of a countryman and a neighbour. But, alas! we can only bewail these things without any hope of reforming them; and when two Christians are on the point of sacrificing each other's lives to a private pique, he would be laughed at who should put them in mind of our Saviour's saying, 'By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if you love one another.'

It is most certain that the practice of any vice or the commission of any moral crime is attended with immediate punishment in this life. The infinitely wise providence of God hath joined moral and [physical?] evil together. Some inward uneasiness of mind, some outward pain of

body, severe loss in reputation or fortune, or the like, is visibly annexed to sin, to deter men from the practice of it. This and the [vengeance?] go to [shew] the sinner both here an what he is to expect hereafter. How true this is with regard to uncharitableness is partly [seen] from what has been already, of the outward calamities, both public and private, which it is attended with, and it will be more so if we consider the inward uneasiness of those passions which are opposite to charity. How painfully does avarice vex and corrode the soul! What a knawing [gnawing] anguish breaks the slumbers and palls all the enjoyments of an envious man. How is it possible that he should eat his bread with pleasure when mortified and disappointed at every good event that befalls his neighbours? Or can there be any joy, any repose in a mind under the visitation of rage, or that feels the cruel appetite of revenge, or is ever haunted with ill wishes to others or just fears for itself? There is not surely in nature a more wretched state than that of a perverse, ill-tempered, uncharitable man; he is always upon the rack; his heart is a perpetual prey to the most restless and tormenting passions. But, on the other hand, can there be any state of mind more happy and delightful than that of the charitable person? He looks on mankind as his friends, and is therefore so far from being mortified, that he rejoices at their prosperity, and reckons it an addition to his own good fortune. As he wishes no harm to his neighbour, so he hath hopes of being relieved or assisted by them in any exigence. Every act of charity and beneficence carries its own reward with it—a sense of pleasing and of being acceptable to men, together with a secret joy flowing from the approbation of a good conscience, besides all which there is a certain peculiar pleasure and [charm] that is the natural result of a kind and generous behaviour. It is not easy to say whether a sweet, mild, and gentle disposition contributes more to the [joy] and satisfaction of our neighbours or to our own private tranquillity and delight, since as the opposite passions ruffle and discompose, so charity and the graces that attend it soothe and rejoice the soul: to be free from anger, envy, and revenge, to be always in good humour, to delight in doing good to mankind, is the height of

happiness upon earth, and approaches the nearest to that of the saints in heaven [1].

[I come now to the third thing, which was to add some further reflexions to persuade you to the offices of charity.]

After what has been advanced it may seem needless to [insist] on any further motives in order to persuade you to the practice of a virtue which, as it is the most necessary and substantial part of religion, so it is the most directly calculated for the advantage both of public communities and private men. What possible pretence can you have for not complying with an injunction so excellent, so easy as this of loving one another? Are you afraid that to fulfil any part of the Christian [virtues] might expose you to contumely in a vicious and ungenerous world? But what age, what nation is so barbarous as not to honour a man of distinguished charity and benevolence? Are you eager to enjoy the good things of this life, or too worldly-minded to be altogether influenced by the distant recompenses of that which is to come? This duty has been shewn most effectually to promote your present interests in this world? Is there anything rigid and austere in the exercise of virtues which may deter you from the practice [of vice]? Behold the very acts [commanded] are pleasant and delightful, and what Solomon says of wisdom is also true of charity, 'Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace.'

How can you think on the baseness of an uncharitable, envious spirit and not despise it? How can you reflect

[1] On the opposite page of the MS. there occurs the following observation :—'The whole system of rational beings may be considered as one family or body politic ; and Providence, intending the good of the whole, hath connected the members together by the cords of a man, by the common ties of humanity and good nature, and fitted and adjusted them to each other for their reciprocal use and benefit.'

It may interest some, as it shews how careful Berkeley was in regard to literary style, to have before them the following addition to the sermon, with the corrections as in the MS. : the words in brackets were struck out by him :—

'The whole system of rational beings may be considered as one society or body politic : and Providence, intending the [common] good of the whole, hath [adjusted] connected the members [one to another] together by the cords of a man, by the common ties of humanity and good-nature, and fitted and adjusted them [so as to be] to each other for their reciprocal use and benefit.'

upon the mischief, the anxiety, the torment that it produces, and not abhor it? How can you be sensible of God's indignation against this vice and yet be guilty of it?

After all, brethren, if against the express repeated command and [injunction of] Almighty God, against the light and [voice] of your own conscience, against future interest and the common [feelings] of humanity, we continue to [indulge] piques and hatreds towards [others, and] will not, pursuant to the apostle's directions, put away from us all bitterness, and wrath, and clamour, and evil speaking with be assured that our case is desperate. Why should we disguise the truth? It is fit sinners should know their condition while it is in their power to mend it. I say therefore, again, that the state of such persons is desperate, that they cannot hope for salvation by the holy covenant. For St. John plainly tells us, 'he that hateth his brother is in darkness even until now.' That is, notwithstanding the light of the Gospel has now shined in the world, yet such a one is in a state of heathenism, which in the Scriptures is named darkness. Again, he that knoweth not God, for God is love. 'If any man saith I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar.' And now to what purpose is it to produce any further testimony? Doth not our Lord Himself tell us in the text, 'By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another?' He therefore that [loveth not] is no disciple of Christ's; he is, in [fact], no Christian, has no right to expect any share in the sufferings and intercession of Christ Jesus. Nay, I will be bold to say that all the evangelists, the disciples, and our blessed Lord Himself had not so frequently, so expressly, so urgently declared this great truth to us, yet it would have been discovered by the light of nature that an uncharitable person could not be saved. Strife, calumny, revenge, envy, prepare and fit one for [the company] of devils. A spirit with these [passions can be] no company for saints and angels even in heaven itself where [all is] love, joy, peace.

You, Christians, seriously consider what has been said. Let it not be an idle dream in your fancies [let it sink down into] your hearts and influence all your actions. 'Put on (as the elect of God, holy and beloved) bowels of

mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any: even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye. And above all things, put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness.' So will the good providence of God protect and bless you during the course of this mortal life, and at the last day you will be owned for true disciples of the kind and merciful Jesus: to whom with Thee, O Father, and the Holy Ghost be all glory[1].

[1] Towards the end of this Sermon a few spaces are left blank. This arises from the state of the MS., which in this part is much injured, probably by salt water, in the course of Berkeley's voyages in the Mediterranean or afterwards. Towards the conclusion of the Sermon, a large portion of it is legible only under a strong light, and even then with difficulty, while words are occasionally obliterated. They can generally be supplied by the reader.

JOURNAL IN ITALY

IN JANUARY, MAY, JUNE, AND SEPTEMBER, 1717; ALSO IN APRIL, 1718

First published in 1871

EDITOR'S PREFACE

TO

THE JOURNAL IN ITALY

NEXT to the juvenile *Commonplace Book*, this *Journal* of Berkeley's life in Italy, during his second visit to that country, contained in four small manuscript volumes, is the most important of the Berkeley MSS. that were first published in 1871, in my former edition of the Works. It contains a daily record of his movements in 1717, during most of January, and parts of May, June, and September; also on some days of April, 1718. He had left England for Italy in November, 1716, in company with young Ashe, his pupil, son of the Bishop of Clogher. The travellers seem to have reached Rome about the end of that year. The *Journal* begins on January 7, 1717, and records their sight-seeing in Rome during eighteen following days (pp. 225–48). The story is resumed in another volume, on May 5, when they were about to leave Naples for a tour in little frequented parts of Calabria, which lasted till June 9, when they returned to Naples. Of this excursion we have here the daily record. Memoranda of the road from Rome to Naples, undated, are recorded in another volume, followed by notes relating to the romantic Island of Ischia or Inarime, where, as he mentions in a letter to Pope which I have introduced, they passed 'three or four months' of that summer, and where, it seems by the *Journal*, they still were in September. The record of a three days' journey on the road from Naples to Rome in April, 1718, completes what has been preserved

of Berkeley's Italian *Journal*. The latest date is April 13, 1718, when the travellers returned to Rome from Naples.

We have got only fragments. The manuscript volumes which have disappeared might have informed us of the daily proceedings of the travellers in other months of 1717 and 1718, and in 1719, which is a total blank; also in 1720, when they returned through France to London in the end of the year. The missing volumes, including memoranda of Berkeley's reported tour in Sicily, as it seems in 1718–19, have perhaps shared the fate of the Second Part of the *Principles*, which was lost at sea.

The volumes which remain seem to have been Berkeley's travelling companions, partly written in his carriage; for sometimes the record is in pencil, yet not illegible. The *Journal* is kept on the right-hand pages; the left are reserved for quotations and occasional notes, which when here printed appear within brackets, with M (Marginal Note) attached. In dating the *Journal* Berkeley, it will be observed, followed the Roman fashion, by adopting the reformed Gregorian Calendar, adding N. S. to the date, although it was not till 1752 that this change was made in England.

The *Journal* illustrates Berkeley's habit of minute and careful observation of nature and passing events; his keen interest in art, especially architecture; and his disposition to scientific investigations, in directions which shew much individuality. Ischia was to him fairy-land, in which he revelled in that summer of 1717. Volcanic phenomena were another attraction, as appears in the *Journal*, in his criticism of the physical speculations of Borellus, and in his letter to Arbuthnot. Above all, the phenomena which followed the bite of the tarantula were inquired into with anxious care, on every opportunity, yet without much result. He inclines to the belief that the bite of this spider occasions a desire for dancing, the tarantula dance being followed by cure, a conclusion

hardly confirmed by later observations, and which probably allows too little for the work of imagination in the patient. But Berkeley's observations and reports are characteristic, whatever science may now have to say regarding the phenomena.

Not much light is thrown by this *Journal* on the social or ecclesiastical condition of Italy in 1717; nor does it often clothe the places visited with their historical associations, or speculate on history. Yet it shews some familiarity with classical literature, in the references to ancient geographers and historians, Roman poets, and modern Italian books.

On the whole, these fragments of Berkeley's *Journal in Italy* throw a more vivid light upon the incidents of his daily experience in the period to which they relate than has fallen upon any other equal portion of the sixty-eight years of his life.

JOURNAL IN ITALY

[Rome] Jan. 7, 1717. N.S.

This morning I paced a gallery in the Vatican four hundred and eighty-eight paces long. We saw the famous library in that palace. It contains seventy-two thousand volumes, MSS. and printed. The building surely is not to be equalled in that kind, being nobly proportioned and painted by the best hands. It is in this form ⊤ the greatest length about eight hundred foot. The books are all contained in desks or presses, whose backs stand to the wall. These desks are all low, of an equal height, so that the highest books are within reach without the least straining. We saw a Virgil in MS. above fourteen hundred years old. It wanted the four disputed verses in the beginning of the Æneid. They shewed us another that seemed of an earlier date, but it was imperfect. Both these books were written in great letters without any space between the words. The first had inter-punctuations, the other none: both were illuminated with pictures, but those of the former were much more barbarous than the other, which is look[ed] on as an argument that it is less ancient. We saw a Terence of much the same age, as we could judge by the character. A Septuagint of great antiquity with accents, literis uncialibus. Henry the VIII's love letters to Anna Boleyn; and his book against Luther, which procured him the title of Defender of the Faith. In his letter to the pope prefixed to this treatise he plainly assumes the composition of it to himself (which I observe, because it is doubted by some). The book is fairly writ on vellum: it is subscribed by the king's own hand. The epistle dedicatory is full of respect to the pope. I read the first chapter. His arguments are altogether ad

hominem and ad verecundiam. The style is better than the reasoning, which shews the prince and the soldier rather than the scholar. In the afternoon we saw the statues in Belvedere part of the Vatican. The principal are Cleopatra, Apollo (found in the Baths of Caracalla), the famous Laocoon, and Antinous. These are all masterpieces of antiquity. The Apollo and Laocoon can never be enough admired.

Jan. 8.

A little after the seventeenth hour Mr. Ashe and I waited on Cardinal Gualtieri. He, as the greatest part of the Roman cardinals and nobles, hath his apartments up two pairs of stairs, which they esteem for the goodness of the air. In the antechamber we met with a good number of gentlemen, lay as well as ecclesiastic. I signified to a gentleman (a knight of some order, for every cardinal hath knights and counts for his domestics) that we wished to kiss his eminence's hands; upon which he conducted us into an inner spacious chamber with a fire (which is no common thing in Italy): another gentleman was charged with the message to the cardinal, who immediately came to us. He is about sixty, a jolly well-looking man, grey hair, rather low than tall, and rather fat than lean. He entertained us with a great deal of frankness and civility. We sate all in armed chairs round the fire. We were no sooner seated, but his eminence obliged us to put on our hats, which we did without ceremony, and he put on his cardinal's square cap. We discoursed on several subjects, as the affairs of England, those of the Turks and Venetians, and several other topics, in all which his eminence shewed himself a man of sense, good breeding, and good humour. He occasionally told us a curious point of natural history. The pope every morning regales the cardinals with a present of his own bread. This bread used to be excellent when his holiness lived at the Vatican, but upon his removal to Monte Cavallo, though the same bakers, the same water, and the same corn were employed, yet it was found impossible to make the bread so good there as it was at the Vatican, which the cardinal did imagine to proceed from some unaccountable quality in the air. He

talked to us of the carnival, and invited us very civilly to see the triumphs out of a balcony in his palace, which he told us stood very conveniently. When by our silence we shewed an inclination to be going, his eminence took off his cap and said he would no longer abuse our patience. It is not reckoned manners to break off a visit to a cardinal before you are dismissed by him. The form being in that as in other points to treat them as crowned heads, to whom they are esteemed equal. In the afternoon we went to the Villa Borghese. I liked the gardens, they are large, have fine cut walks, white deer, statues, fountains, groves; nothing of the little French gout, no parterres. If they are not so spruce and trim as those in France and England, they are nobler and, I think, much more agreeable. The house is noble, and hath the richest outside that I have anywhere seen, being enchased with beautiful relievos of antiquity. The portico was furnished with old chairs, very entire, being of hard stone, coloured red in some places and gilt in others, carved too with several devices. It was too dark to see the pictures, so we put off viewing the inside to another time.

Jan. 9.

Our first visit this day was to the sepulchre of Cestius. This building is pyramidal, of great smoothed pieces of marble. A considerable part of it is now underground, but what appears is about a hundred foot in length, each side of the square basis, and about a hundred and fifty the side of the pyramid. There is a chamber within in which there have been not many years ago several antique figures painted in fresco. They are now defaced and the entrance made up. This monument lies between the Mons Aventinus and the Mons Testaceus. Having viewed the sepulchre of Cestius, we ascended the Mons Testaceus, from whence we had a fair prospect of Rome. This mount was formed in the time of old Rome by the potters, who had this place appointed them for heaping together their rubbish, to prevent their choking the Tiber. You see the mount to be made up of bits of broken potsherds. After this we went along the Via Ostiensis (of which we could still see some remains) to St. Paul's church. By

the wayside we saw a chapel with a bas-relief representing the parting embrace between St. Peter and St. Paul. The inscription tells you this is the spot where those holy martyrs were parted as they went to their martyrdom, the one (St. Peter) turning to the right to Montorio, the other going to the Tre Fontane. St. Paul's church, which stands above a mile out of the town, was built by Constantine: there are nevertheless two ranges of noble Corinthian pillars on both sides of the great isle, that seem too elegant for that age, in which the arts were much on the decline. Probably they belonged to some more ancient building. On the floor of this church we saw a column of white marble in shape of a candlestick, for which purpose it had been made in Constantine's time. It was all over adorned with very rude sculpture. Under the great altar there lie one half of the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul (the other half being under the great altar of St. Peter's). The rude painting and mosaic deserves no regard. I must not forget that this church is very rich in indulgences. We read in an inscription on the wall, that an indulgence of above six thousand years was got by a visit to that church on any ordinary day, but a plenary remission on Christmas and three or four other days. I asked a priest that stood by whether by virtue of that remission a man was sure of going straight to heaven without touching at purgatory, in case he should then die. His answer was that he certainly would. From this church we went to that of the Three Fountains, four miles from Rome southward. This is a small church built in the place where St. Paul was beheaded. They shewed us in a corner of the church the very pillar of white marble on which his head was cut off. The head, say they, made three leaps, and a fountain sprung up at each leap. These fountains are now shewn in the church, and strangers never fail to drink of them, there being an indulgence (I think) of a hundred years attending that function. The altar-piece of this church is finely painted by Guido Reni. At a small distance from this church there is another called Scala Cœli, from a vision of St. Bernard's, who, say they, as he was celebrating mass in this place saw angels drawing the souls in purgatory up to heaven. This vision we saw painted in the church. Underneath, they

tell you, are interred 10303 Christian soldiers with the Tribune Zeno, who were picked out of the Roman army and martyred in this place. All these odd things are not only told by the monks or friars, but inscribed in marble in the churches.

Jan. 10.

Mr. Hardy, the Abbate Barbieri, Mr. Ashe, and I went this morning to see the famous Farnesian Palace. The gallery so much spoken of proved smaller than I expected, but the painting is excellent; it is all over done in fresco by Annibal Carache. Here and in other parts of the palace we saw several fine antique busts and statues. The principal are the Hercules, commonly called the Farnesian Hercules, the Flora, the bust of Caracalla, the flesh whereof is wonderfully soft and natural, and an admirable group of Zethus, Amphion, Antiope, Dirce, and a bull, all out of one stone, done by two R[h]odians. The two young men, sons of the Theban king, tie Dirce to the bull's horns in order to precipitate her into a well (as the inscription on a tablet hung by the statue tells you). The bull and the men are incomparably well done, but there is little expression in the face of Dirce, which makes me suspect the head to be modern. The easiness, the strength, the beauty, and the muscles of the Hercules cannot be too much admired. The drapery of the Flora is admirable, and the bust of Antoninus Caracalla is flesh and blood—nothing can be softer. In the afternoon we drove out of town through the Porta Collatina, leaving Lucullus's gardens on the left hand and Sallustius's on the right. We got by three a clock of our reckoning to the Villa Borghese. The outside and gardens we had seen before; we spent this afternoon in viewing the apartments. The greatest part of the pictures are copies. I remember some good ones of Corregio, and the famous Battle of Constantine by Julio Romano. In the apartments of this villa we saw several excellent statues: those most remarkable of the antique are the Hermaphrodite, the Gladiator, and, on the outside of the wall, that of Curtius on horseback leaping into the cavern. I must not forget three statues of Bernini in these apartments, that raise my idea of that modern statuary almost to an

equality with the famous ancients—Apollo and Daphne, Æneas with Anchises on his shoulders, David going to fling the stone at Goliah. The grace, the softness, and expression of these statues is admirable. In our return we took a walk round part of the walls of the city. Both walls and turrets were pretty entire on that side. They have stood since Justinian's time, having been built by Bellisarius. We entered the city at the Porta Viminalis, stepped into the Victoria, a beautiful church encrusted with ornaments of the richest stones, as jallo antico, verde antico, jaspers, &c. In this are hung up trophies taken from the Turks. After this, we paid a second visit to Dioclesian's Baths, admiring the lofty remains of that stupendous fabric, which is now possessed by the Carthusians. In the pavement of the church, made out of the standing part of the baths, we saw a meridian line (like that of Bologna) drawn by the learned Bianchini.

Jan. 11.

This morning Mr. Domvile and I spent in looking for Greek books. The shops are but ill furnished, and give one a mean idea of the Roman literature. In the afternoon we took the air on the Mons Quirinalis—drove by Montalto's gardens towards S. Maria Maggiore and S. John Lateran.

Jan. 12.

In the forenoon I took a walk on the mount behind our lodging, on which stands the church and convent of La Trinità, overlooking the Piazza d'Espagne, anciently the Naumachia Domitiana. From thence I had a good prospect of Monte Cavallo, St. Peter's, and the intermediate parts of the town. When I had amused myself some time here, I walked towards the Porta del Popolo, where we first entered the town. By the way I stepped into the church dedicated to St. Ambrose and St. Charles. I viewed some good pictures in it. It hath a dome and a handsome façade. The Piazza del Popolo is contrived to give a traveller a magnificent impression of Rome upon his first entrance. The Guglio[1] in the middle, the two

[1] Berkeley writes Guglio. The usual form is Guglia, which also means a needle.

beautiful churches of the same architecture that front the entrance, standing on either side of the end of the Corso, or great street directly opposite to the gate, carrying the eye in a straight line through the middle of the city almost to the Capitol; while on the sides there strike off two other straight streets, inclined in equal angles to the Corso, the one leading to the Piazza d'Espagne, the other towards the Piazza Navona. From the Guglio your prospect shoots through these three streets. All this I say is contrived to produce a good effect on the eye of a new-comer. The disposition, it must be owned, is pleasing, and if the ordinary houses that make up the greatest part of the streets were more agreeable and regular, would make a very noble prospect. The Guglio or Obelisk in the middle of the Piazza is a noble monument brought from Egypt and set up in the Circus Maximus by Augustus Cesar, where it was dug up in the time of Sixtus Quintus, and by order of that pope set upon [a] pedestal in this place and dedicated to the cross. It was the same pope that caused the greatest part, if not all, the guglios to be erected in the several piazzas of Rome, e. g. in the Piazza Navona, Piazza di S. Pietro, Piazza di S. Maria Maggiore, before the Minerva, &c. The greatest, as everybody knows, is that in the Piazza of St. Peter. Most of these obelisks are scribbled over with hieroglyphics. They are each of a single piece of granite. Nothing can give one a higher notion of the stupendous magnificence of the old Egyptian monarchs who made these obelisks than that the Roman emperors in their greatest glory valued themselves upon bringing them from Egypt; and the most spirited of the popes looked upon it as the greatest event of his life to be able to place one of them on its pedestal. In the afternoon we walked to the Piazza di Navona, inquired for books, and viewed the façades of several palaces by the way. Over the doors of the palaces of the cardinals, princes, and public ministers there hang up several coats of arms, whereof the pope regnant's is sure to be one; e. g. over Ottoboni's portal we saw the arms of his Holiness, the arms of France because he is protector of the French nation, those of Venice because he is a Venetian, and those of the S. P. Q. R.

Jan. 13.

Mr. Hardy, Mr. Ashe, and myself drove in the forenoon to St. Peter's, where we entertained ourselves in reviewing and examining the structure, with the statues and pictures that adorn it. Of the pictures, those which most pleased me were a St. Sebastian of Dominiquin and the Assumption of St. Petronilla by Quercino, the chiaro-oscuro of the latter giving it so strong a relief that it deceives the eye beyond any picture in the church; and the body of St. Sebastian is a very fine figure. The expression too of the bystanders, particularly a commanding soldier on horseback, is admirable. Having seen the palace of Farnese and the Borghesian villa since my being last at St. Peter's, the statues did not near please me now so much as then. You may see grace, beauty, and a fine attitude in these statues of Algardi, Porta, Bernini, &c. They have sometimes a fine expression in the face; but on a near inspection you perceive nothing so finished, none of those delicate contours, those softnesses, that life and breath that you discover in the fine antiques. The best statue in St. Peter's, in my judgment, is the Dead Christ of M. Angelo Bonaroti. I must not forget an old Gothic iron statue of St. Peter that stands in one side of the great isle, the feet whereof are much worn away by kissing. We saw a soldier not only kiss the feet, but also rub his head and face upon them. From St. Peter's we went to the Loggie of the Vatican to view Raphael's pictures there, which detained us till it was passed dinner time. We saw nothing after dinner.

Jan. 14.

In the morning Dr. Chenion, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Ashe, and I entertained ourselves with the sight of the palace of Don Livio Odescalchi, Duke of Bracciano; where we saw in the upper apartments a great number of fine pictures by the best masters. I remarked particularly a famous one of Raphael's, said to have cost fourteen thousand crowns: it is a small piece of the Blessed Virgin, with two puttini, our Saviour and St. John Baptist: it is full of life and grace. Below stairs we saw several vaulted

chambers well furnished with statues, ancient and modern, as well as with many beautiful pillars of antique stone, the mines whereof are now either exhausted or unknown. From thence we went to the palace of Prince Borghese. This is a vast palace, the salons and chambers spacious and lofty, as well as many in number: there is particularly one fine vista through nine rooms, that is lengthened by a hole cut through an adjacent house (which the prince bought for that purpose) to a fountain and a beautiful passage. In this palace we saw an incredible number of fine pictures. They are reckoned to be seventeen hundred. Many portraits by Titian that seemed to breathe. Fine soft graceful pieces of Corregio. Excellent ones of Raphael, Annibal Carache, Quercino, Guido Reni, Reubens, Lanfranc, Paul Veronese, &c. I must particularly remark that famous piece of Titian's, where Venus is represented binding Cupid's eyes. They shewed us two pictures, the one said to be nine hundred years old: the other since the days of Romulus; it is on metal in a barbarous taste, and represents the rape of the Sabines. In the garden we saw several water-works and statues. In the afternoon we visited churches, particularly the Pantheon, and the two principal churches of the Jesuits, that of Jesus and that of St. Ignatius. The eye is never weary with viewing the Pantheon. Both the rotunda itself and the vestibule discover new beauties every time we survey them. The beauty and delicacy of the pillars of jallo antico within, as well as the grandeur, the nobleness, and the grace of the granite pillars without, cannot be too much admired. Over the great altar in the upper end of the church we saw a repository, in which they say is contained a picture of the Madonna by Saint Luke. They pretend to have six or seven more by the same hand in other churches of Rome, but they are kept shut up (as well as the image of our Saviour at St. Paul's Church that spoke to St. Bridget), so that it is hardly possible to get a sight of them except at some extraordinary time when they are exposed out of devotion. The church of St. Ignatius is richly painted. The ceiling is raised by the perspective of Padre Pozzo, and a cupola is so represented by the same hand in perspective that it wonderfully deceives the eye as one walks towards it from the door along the

great isle. The fine altar, consecrated to one Gonzago a Jesuit (styled Beatus only, as not being yet canonized), is well worth seeing; the sculpture is fine, and the pillars very rich, wreathed of verde antico; the floor of that chapel paved with the richest stones, as verde antico, jallo antico, &c. Here are likewise to be seen beautiful pillars of jasper, with counter-pillars of alabaster. I have already spoken of the church of Jesus, and the rich altar in it. I shall only observe that as these two churches are dedicated to the two patrons of the order, they seem to shew a greater respect to Ignatius Loyola than to our blessed Saviour,—the church of the former being much the greater and finer of the two; besides that in the church of Jesus the glorious rich altar is dedicated to St. Ignatius.

Jan. 15.

In the forenoon we paid a visit to the Capitol, where we met Dr. Chenion and Mr. Hardy. Having surveyed the statue of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius on horseback, which we had often seen before, we went up to the top of the convent belonging to Ara Cœli, where we delighted ourselves for some time with the prospect of Rome, the Campagna, and the Apennine. Amongst other hills, I took particular notice of Soracte.

'Vides ut alta stet nive candida [sic],
Soracte.' *Hor.*

It is a mountain towards the north-east, in shape something like a sugar-loaf. Having puzzled one another with questions on the buildings, and run over the seven hills, we visited the church famous for its having an altar built in that very place where Augustus offered incense Primogenito filio Dei, by the admonition (say they) of the Sybil and a vision of the Blessed Virgin with the infant Christ in her arms in a golden circle in the heavens, which an old friar assured us Augustus saw in that same place, and as an inscription round the altar testifies. From thence we went to see some statues in the Capitol a third time. I remarked particularly two graceful Muses antique on one of the staircases. After that we paid a visit to the Tarpeian rock, which we all agreed was high and steep enough to break either the late Bp. Burnet's or any man

else's neck who should try the experiment by leaping down[1]. In the afternoon we saw the Villa Pamphilia. It stands to the west of the town, in a very delightful situation. The gardens are neat, spacious, and kept in good order, adorned with statues, fountains, &c.; but the prospect, with the variety of risings and vales, make the greatest part of the beauty. The house is small, but of a very pretty gusto, well furnished with statues and relievos (which last are set in the outside of the wall, as in the Villa Borghese). It is a great inconvenience to the persons of quality in Rome that they durst never lie in their villas for fear of the bad air. They only come sometimes in the day to hunt, or divert themselves in the gardens. I must not forget the church of S. Pietro Montorio, where St. Peter was beheaded. In this church we saw the Transfiguration, the last piece designed by Raphael. From hence Rome is seen to the greatest advantage, the façades of the houses meeting the eye as they fall down the seven hills towards the Tiber on the adverse side. This prospect is truly noble, and I believe the noblest of any city in the world.

Jan. 16.

This morning I spent at home. In the afternoon, Mr. Ashe, Mr. Hardy, and I went to see the palace of the Barberini. It is, I think, the noblest palace in Rome. The architecture is magnificent. The situation on the Mons Quirinalis delightful. It hath many noble chambers and salons, being of great extent, but without a gallery. I much wonder this defect should be so common in the Roman palaces, a gallery being a thing of less expense and more beauty, as well as a fitter repository for pictures, than a suite of rooms which serve to no use, their families being not proportioned to their palaces. This palace consists of two apartments, that of the Prince and that of the Cardinal Barberini, both extremely well furnished with pictures and statues, especially the latter. In this

[1] This is an allusion to Bp. Burnet's 'Letters from Switzerland, Italy,' &c., in which (2nd ed., p. 238), the following passage occurs: 'The *Tarpeian Rock* is now so small a fall, that a man would think it no great matter, for his diversion, to leap over it,' &c.

palace I could not forbear remarking the picture of a giostro or tournament given by Prince Barberini for the entertainment of the Queen of Sweden; it cost him above seventy thousand crowns. The ridiculous part of it was to see a great number of Roman princes and cavaliers marching in sumptuous trappings and great order to attack a green dragon of pasteboard. Amongst the fine pictures here is an incomparable Madeleine of Guido Reni, reckoned the best piece that ever he did. The Madonna and Holy Family of Perugino is the most valuable piece of that painter that I have seen. His drapering every one knows to [be] of a little gout, and he knew nothing of the chiaro-oscuro. But for sweetness, grace, and beauty there is enough in this piece to render it admirable. I must not forget two excellent portraits, the one of Clara Farnese by Gaetano, the other by Parmeginino: it is one head of four in a group, that which looks directly at you. It is perfect life. Here is likewise a most curious piece of art, the bust of Urban the Eighth, done in terra cotta by a blind man, and well done. The antique statue of Brutus holding the heads of his two sons is formed upon a subject that should express the greatest contrast of passion, and yet there is nothing of it. This and another statue of Diogenes, both large and well preserved, shew the ancients had indifferent statuaries as well as the moderns. The Diana and Adonis of Mazzuoli, a statuary now alive in Rome, are both very fine, and I think equal to Bernini. They shewed us a piece of ancient mosaic, of Europa and the Bull, &c. It seemed nothing extraordinary. But the greatest curiosity in this palace are some curious pieces in fresco, well preserved from the time of old Rome, and dug up in Tivoli. They are seven or eight in number, most chiaro-oscuro, or painting of two colours. But there is one piece of a Venus and two Cupids incomparably fresh and beautiful. It hath some resemblance to the manner of Guido Reni. In this palace we saw a noted statue antique of a countryman asleep. Nothing can be more soft and natural. There is another of a slave eating the hand of a man, in which extreme hunger is expressed with great art. Upon the staircase there is the noblest antique lion in stone that I have anywhere seen. We ended the day with a walk in the gardens of Montalto.

They are very spacious, being said to contain three miles in circuit: cypress trees, espalier hedges, statues, and fountains make the ornaments of this place, which, like the gardens in Italy, is not kept with all that neatness that is observed in French and English gardens.

Jan. 17.

We went this morning with Mr. Hardy and Dr. Chenion to the piazza of S. Maria Maggiore, where we saw the ceremony performed of blessing the horses, mules, and asses. On this day every year people of all ranks send or bring their cattle of that kind to receive a blessing from the fathers of St. Anthony. We saw a great number of fellows, with their horses dressed out with ribbons, pressing forward to the blessing. This was distributed at an office in the corner of a street or turning by a father in his cap and surplice, who threw holy water on all that passed; at the same the owner of the horse gave him a testoon and a wax taper; some country fellows who had not money paid the priest in fruits, corn, or the like. This solemnity lasts the whole day. From hence we went to Dioclesian's baths. The eight entire pillars of granite, each one single stone, standing in that part of the thermæ which is converted into the Carthusians' church, we found on measuring to be full fifteen foot round each of them, and proportionably high. The porphyry bason, which lies in the yard, is above six and forty foot round, of one piece. Not far from this church there stands another entire round building which was part of the thermæ, and now makes a real church. Having spent some time in viewing the paintings here and in an adjacent church dedicated to St. Susanna, we took a walk in the Carthusian cloisters, which are very beautiful, having been designed by Michael Angelo. In the afternoon Mr. Ashe and I visited the Villa Medici, on the Monte Pintiano. The building is handsome, designed by Julio Romano, but at present stripped of its best furniture and neglected. We saw nevertheless some good statues. A small Venus, excellent; a large Cupid, antique and good; with several antique busts and statues, in the house. In the gardens we took particular notice of a lion done by Flaminius

Vacca, of two vastly large granite vases, of a single piece each, and of a group of about sixteen figures, Niobe and her children, antique, well done, and dug up in the garden. From thence we went to the corso which was then kept on the piazza, and stood facing S. Maria Maggiore, on account of blessing the horses.

Jan. 18.

I saw the pope and cardinals at St. Peter's. There was fine singing, much incensing, carrying about, dressing, and undressing of the pope. His holiness was carried in a chair with two screens or eventails of feathers, one on each side, protecting him from the air, though within the church. Cardinals officiated at the high altar. A great baldachino, forming a sort of tabernacle, was set up for his Holiness between the high altar and the upper end of the choir. This day was the feast of St. Peter's Chair. The guards of light horse and cuirassiers were drawn up in the piazza of St. Peter's, and there was a great number of cardinals and prelates with fine coaches and rich liveries. The cardinals had some three, some four or more coaches of their domestics. Cardinal Aquaviva's liveries were particularly splendid. They came out of church each under a canopy or umbrella to his coach. In the afternoon we saw the lesser palace of Farnese with Mr. Terwhit and Mr. Hardy. The gallery, whose ceiling is painted by Raphael, is very well worth seeing. It contains the Supper of the Gods at the marriage of Cupid and Psyche, and in another piece the admission of Psyche to immortality in a council of the gods. In the skirts of the platfond are painted other figures relating to the same design, particularly Venus begging Jove to make her daughter-in-law immortal, which is excellently well expressed.

Jan. 19.

This day we resolved to spend in viewing the antiquities upon the Mount Esquiline. What we first saw was the Church Della Santa Croce in Gierusalemme. It was built by Constantine, and hath fine pillars of granite on either side the great aisle, thought to have been taken by him

out of the temple dedicated to Venus and Cupid hard by. We could not see the piece of the holy cross which is preserved in this church, it being shewn only at certain seasons, and then from an eminence or high pulpit appointed for that purpose. From hence we went to see the ruins of the temple of Venus and Cupid. It stands in the vineyard of the Olivetans, but so defaced that one can make nothing of it. Not far from hence we saw the remains of the Amphitheatrum Castrense, and the conduits of the Aqua Claudia which brought the water from Frescati. We clambered up the ruin to look into the pipe, which is built of huge wrought stones. Upon the frieze over a gate in the aqueduct I could read Caisar Augustus Germanicus. The next ruin we saw was the Templum Minervæ Medicæ, as some will have it; according to others it was a basilica. But the shape seems to refute the latter opinion. What remains is a decagonal building, with part of the vault standing, and large niches all round it. In the neighbouring church of St. Bibbiana we saw a fine statue of that saint by Bernini, also the column where she was whipped, and a vast urn of one piece of alabaster, wherein her body lies under the altar. We met with an instance of behaviour in this church not to be matched in Italy. A poor boy who gave some herbs that growing [in] the church are supposed to have a healing virtue from the saint, refused to take money from Mr. Hardy, who, having accepted his present, thought himself obliged to force it on him. The next antiquity we observed was the Castello dell' Aqua Martia, in which we were told the trophies of Marius were hung up. It was of brick, a piece, with something like a great niche in it, standing, but nothing that could give us an idea of the fabric when entire. From thence we passed through the arch of Gallienus; it was plain, without those bas-reliefs and ornaments which are commonly met with on the like arches. This was in our way to S. Maria Maggiore, near which we observed a prodigious marble pillar of great beauty, raised on a pedestal something like the Monument in London. This pillar was found among the ruins of the Temple of Peace in the Via Sacra. We passed through the church, which is one of the four Basiliche, the other three being St. Peter's, St. John Lateran, and St. Paul's. We stopped to

survey the chapel of Paul the Fifth, which is most richly adorned with marble incrustations, fine architecture, and statues. I must not forget that as we were going to our antiquities this morning, I observed by the way a church with an inscription signifying that it was dedicated to the Holy Trinity and to St. Charles the cardinal-archbishop of Milan. In the afternoon we intended to visit what remained on the Mons Esquilinus, but in the way saw the remains of the basilica of Nerva. The wall is noble, of rustic work, like the palaces in Florence, vast stones heaped one upon the other, with an irregular jutting out here and there. It now makes part of a nunnery. The pillars that remain are of white marble fluted, very large. The next curiosity we saw was an ancient temple of Minerva: some pillars and entablatures are remaining, with relievos, and a statue of Minerva in the wall. These near the Columna Trajana, in our way to the Esquiline, where the first thing we saw was the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli. We took but a transient view of a famous tomb here, resolving to come another time. Hence we went to the Therme di Tito. The ruins above ground are pretty unintelligible. They are of brick, as the other thermæ, but [from] the stucco, &c. one may see they were encrusted anciently with marble, as the other baths do likewise appear to have been. At some distance under ground we saw eight large galleries or halls, that were anciently reservoirs of water for the baths of Titus. The walls are covered with plaster as hard as stone, and in many places encrusted with a sort of tartar from the water. In our return we saw a piece of antiquity which they will have to be a remnant of the temple of Priapus: it is a small rotunda, with light only through the dome; in the wall withinside there is a large conical stone, of which they can give no account. Hard by we saw the remains of the circus of Sallustius, with the situation of his gardens and palace.

Jan. 20.

This forenoon we saw the Mausoleum of Augustus. What now remains is a round wall, and some vaults which are supposed to have been burying-places for his liberti.

We saw some scattered vases, statues, and bas-reliefs. This monument stands in the north-west part of the town, between the Corso and the Strada di Ripetta. After this we visited the castle of St. Angelo. Having passed the guards and the outward lodge, we entered certain passages and staircases hollowed out of the Moles Adriani, which was a solid building, the lower part whereof still remains and makes part of the castle. It is of a round figure, seeming of no great strength, hath in it more room than one would imagine from its outward appearance. We saw amongst other things a salon painted by Perin del Vaga. His design is very graceful, and like his master Raphael. We saw another large and fair salon, painted by Perin and Julio Romano, with a good deal of chiaro-oscuro by Polidore Caravagio. At the upper end of this hall was painted the Angel, and opposite to him at the other end the Emperor Adrian. We saw the entrances of the two places, one where the archives, and particularly the Donation of Constantine, is kept, the other where the five millions of Sixtus Quintus are preserved. Both these are shut up with iron doors. They shewed us two rooms handsomely furnished, which they said was to be the pope's apartment in case of necessity. In a like apartment, underneath, Clement the Seventh was lodged when prisoner of Charles the Fifth. When we saw the castle, that same apartment, we were told, lodged a Spanish bishop who had been there about six months by order of the Inquisition. He was the same I formerly mistook to have been lodged in the prisons of the Inquisition. Our guide told us he was never visited by any but the inquisitors, nor allowed to go out of his apartment. He said he had often seen him, that he is esteemed a man of great understanding, has a bishopric of twelve or fourteen thousand crowns a year, and is about fifty years of age. We saw an armoury which seemed no great matter, the armour was divided and hung up by pieces that looked rusty enough. The person who keeps it shewed us a collection of arms which belonged to criminals executed for murder or carrying concealed weapons. Amongst the rest the pistol that dropped in St. Peter's or in the pope's chapel from the Prince of Parma, for which he was condemned to be beheaded by Sixtus Quintus. Below in the court of the

castle we saw a Greek archbishop who had been fourteen years prisoner of the Inquisition in this castle, and was lately acquitted. I must not forget the statue of the angel with a sword in his hand on the top of the castle, in the very spot where he appeared, as they say, to all the people in the time of the plague in the reign of Gregory the Great. From which event the castle takes its name. The bridge of St. Angelo, which leads over the Tiber towards the castle, deserves notice, being nobly adorned on each side with statues, ancient and modern. From hence we went to see the remains of the Theatre of Marcellus. The Doric and Ionic orders in two ranges are still to be seen; the Corinthian, and perhaps the Composite, being destroyed. Hard by we saw the ruins of the Portico of Octavia, as we were told, though in the inscription we could see mention of Pertinax, but not any of her. As we returned home by the Pillar of Antoninus we had the curiosity to enter into it, and go part of the way up stairs. The staircase is hollowed in the solid stones that, being of vast bigness, compose the column. The reliefs with which the outside of the Pillar is covered from top to bottom are not reckoned altogether so delicate as those on Trajan's Pillar. In the afternoon we saw the remains of the Thermæ Constantini, being only an old wall in the gardens of the palace of Colonna. Not far from hence we saw an ancient brick tower called Torre di Militia: it hath stood since the time of Trajan, and at a distance seems very entire. We could not come at it because it is hemmed up in a convent of nuns. It is a pity so considerable a remain of antiquity should be rendered inaccessible by that circumstance. It is not very unlike a steeple, being of a square figure in the lower part; and the upper, which is a tower distinct from and lesser than the under, out of which it proceeds, is a square with the angles rounded. From hence we visited the Giardini d'Aldobrandino (though now possessed by Prince Pamphilio): in them we saw a vast number of ancient statues, the greatest part of which had nothing extraordinary, many of them but indifferent; some relievos on the outside of the house are excellent. I remarked one which I cannot but think represents the combat between Dares and Entellus mentioned in Virgil. An old and a young man are fighting with such things as the poet

describes the cestus's to be. But the greatest curiosity in this house is the ancient picture in fresco dug up in the Thermæ of Titus. It contains ten figures, representing the bride and bridegroom on the marriage night, with maid-servants who seem to burn incense or to be employed in preparing a bath. The bridegroom sits on a very low sort of seat not unlike an oriental sofa. The bride sits, with a modest downcast look, on the other side the bed, in conference with another woman. The bed is without curtains, and like enough to the modern beds one meets with now in Italy. There are three stands, one of which hath a wide vessel in it, in the chamber about which the women seem to be employed. The attitudes are very well, the colouring seems never to have been good, and the drapery but of an indifferent gout. I took the more notice of this piece because it is almost the only one extant of antiquity, at least the most entire, the rest being but fragments much defaced; those shewn for ancient paintings in the palace Barberini being, as I am since informed, done by Polidore Caravagio. This old piece was found in the baths of Titus, where likewise were found the Apollo and the Laocoon in the Vatican: as was the Farnesian Hercules, and the group of the Bull and Zethus and Amphion, &c. in the baths of Caracalla. We ended the day with music at St. Agnes in the Piazza Navona.

Jan. 21.

This morning we went about two miles out of town towards the north-east to see the church of St. Agnes without the City. It being the day of St. Agnes's feast, we could not exactly see the pillars or inside, they being hung with damask. Here we saw some very bad reliefs representing our Saviour on the ass, &c., four columns of porphyry at the great altar, on which stood an agate statue of the saint, and in the convent an excellent bust of our Blessed Saviour by Michael Angelo: it is incomparably fine. Hard by we saw the remains of the Hippodromus of Constantine, and the Mausoleum, as some will have it, of Constantia, as others, the Temple of Bacchus. It is round and entire. A circular row of double figures surround the altar, which stands in the middle of the

building. Under it lies the body of Constantia, which was taken out of a vast urn of porphyry very entire, now standing in the church. It hath no inscription, and is on all sides adorned with indifferent relievo representing winged boys squeezing grapes, which gives some colour to the opinion of those who will have this building to have been the Temple of Bacchus. In our return we observed, what we had often seen before, the noble Fountain of Aqua Felice, built and adorned with fine statues and relievo by Sixtus Quintus. It hath three great openings, whence the water gusheth forth abundantly. It stands next the Thermæ Dioclesianæ, just by the church of the Madonna di Victoria, which we entered, and spent some time in surveying the statues and pictures of that beautiful little church, particularly the statue of the angel aiming a dart at the heart of St. Teresa, wonderfully well done by Bernini, and the Madonna col Bambino and other figures, an excellent picture of Dominiquin's. In the afternoon we went to see the remains of antiquity on the Mons Celius. It lies on the south-east, between the Aventine and the Esquiline. As we passed by the Coliseum we observed some ruins, said to be the remains of the Domus Aurea Neronis, which being of vast extent, reached to the Esquiline, and stood in great part [on] Monte Celio as well as in the plain. We saw likewise in several places the remains of a prodigious aqueduct, and a wall with several arches consisting of vast stones, said to be the remains of the Curia Hostilia. But the chief curiosity on Monte Celio is the Temple of Faunus. It is an entire building, of great antiquity, round, having two circular rows of Ionic pillars, with a good space between them: the interstices between the outer pillars are made up, which anciently, without doubt, lay open, which makes it probable there was some external wall that comprehended both rows of pillars. These pillars are of an unequal thickness, and the chapiters but ill wrought, though all the shafts of single pieces of granite, which shews the building to have been very ancient, before the flourishing of arts in Rome. The walls on the inside are painted with martyrdoms, particularly with that of St. Denys, who is represented, according to the legend, with his head in his hands after it was cut off. St. John Lateran being

on this mount, we made a second visit to that church, which I take to be the noblest in Rome next to St. [Peter's] for the inside, as S. Maria Maggiore is for the outside. What I had not observed before were four noble fluted pillars of bronze gilt in an altar of the church in one end of the same, which was built by Constantine: there is a much mosaic and gilding on the roof, very ancient, probably from Constantine's time. The cloisters of this church are of that emperor's building, and well worth seeing. One may see a great tendency in that age to the Gothic, the pillars being small, and many of them wreathed oddly, and adorned with inlaid stones in a very mean manner. But the most valuable things are the sacred antiquities brought from Jerusalem: as the column—this, I think, was of porphyry—on which the cock stood when he crowed and Peter denied Christ; another pillar of white marble, that was rent in two on the suffering of our Blessed Saviour. Here is likewise a flat porphyry stone set in the wall, on which, they tell you, the soldiers threw lots for our Saviour's garment. I must not forget the famous porphyry chair, which some will have to have been introduced upon the discovery of Pope Joan, and from that time used at the coronation. This notion, I must own, seems fabulous to me, to wave other reasons obvious enough. There is another chair of white marble made in the same shape, and another of porphyry, broken, now to be seen in the same cloister. It is more probably conjectured that they were used in baths for the conveniency of cleaning every part with more ease. This night we were heartily tired at an Italian tragedy of Caligula, where, amongst other decorums, Harlequin (the chief actor) was very familiar with the Emperor himself.

Jan. 22.

This day Mr. Ashe and I went about five miles out of town, through the Porta Capena. The first antiquity we observed on the road was the ruins of the Temple of Mars. Here we saw the remains of a great quadrangular portico that goes round the temple, whereof the substructions only now remain. A little beyond this we saw the Sepulchre of Metella. It is a round tower, 282 foot in circumference:

the wall 35 foot thick, within brick, without and in the middle stone: the outside is covered with vast hewn pieces of the Petra Tiburtina, which remains extremely fresh and entire, being in appearance as hard and lasting as marble. This monument, in the civil wars of Italy, was used as a fortress, and hath some addition of a different work on the top; adjacent are the remains of old fortresses since the civil wars of some centuries ago. On the outside towards the road we read this inscription: CÆCILIÆ Q. CRETICI F. METELLÆ CRASSI. It stands (as many of the ancient sepulchres did) on the Appian Way, whereof we saw the remains in several places. On the wayside we saw several decayed ruins of ancient sepulchres, but which was Scipio Africanus's or which was Duillius's, &c., we could not discover. We returned another way to Rome, and saw the Circus of Caracalla, which is a noble remain of antiquity. You see a good part of the wall and the metæ still standing. The wall plainly shews you the figure of the circus. It seems to be near half a mile in length. At one end we saw the remains of two towers where the racers used to prepare themselves, and in the side the remains of a building higher than the wall, where it is thought the Emperor and his Court viewed the sports. After this we visited the grotto of the nymph Egeria, which stands pretty entire from the time of Numa Pompilius. It is of stone, and the vault remaining. In it we saw three fountains, and an ancient statue of a woman lying, the head wanting, and maimed in other parts. We saw likewise in this grotto some vastly large stones—larger than tomb stones, and several ancient chapiters of pillars, that seemed by their little delicacy to shew themselves of the age of Numa. The next thing we saw in our return home was the church of Quo vadis Domine? It is built, they tell you, on the very place where St. Peter met our Saviour as he was flying from Rome to avoid the persecution. He asked our Saviour, 'Quo vadis Domine?' To which He answered, 'Eo Romam iterum crucifigi.' Upon that St. Peter returned to Rome and suffered martyrdom. In the church we were presented with prints of this history: in which it is remarkable that St. Peter's church in his lifetime is supposed to have made the left part of the view of Rome. There is an old pavement runs through

this church, which they will have to be that part of the road on which St. Peter met our Saviour. An inscription on the wall tells you that the very stone on which our Lord stood, with the marks of His feet, is now preserved at St. Sebastian's. I saw that at St. Sebastian's, and am surprised at the stupidity of the forgery, that stone being of white marble and the pavement in the church of common blue stone.

Jan. 23.

We spent all this day in our lodging.

Jan. 24.

Having turned off our coach, in which we could not so conveniently observe the streets and palaces, we took after dinner a walk to S. Pietro di Montorio: by the way we observed the façades of many noble buildings, particularly that of Monte Citorio, where the courts of justice are kept—it is a most magnificent fabric; and that of the Farnesian palace, in which I remarked that the Ionic pillars are placed above the Corinthian, though it was built by M. Angelo. We looked into the church of S. Carlo di Catenari. It hath a gilt cupola and some fine pictures. We saw likewise the Mons Pietatis, where the charitable bank for pawns is kept. The chapel belonging to this building is small but very beautiful, of a round figure, lined with fine marble, and adorned with excellent sculpture, particularly the statue of the Madonna and a Dead Christ by Domenico Guidi, an admirable piece. In the church of S. Pietro Montorio we took particular notice of the famous Transfiguration, the last piece designed by Raphael. Just by the church we saw a small round chapel of the Doric order, built on the spot where St. Peter was beheaded, with an inscription importing that it is declared by Paul the Third that as often as any priest shall celebrate mass in that chapel he shall set free one soul from purgatory. Having delighted ourselves with the glorious prospect of Rome, which appears nowhere to such advantage as on this hill, we returned, and in our way found a Jesuit preaching in the open air in the Piazza Navona. We listened awhile to him. He was a young man of brisk genius, his motions lively, and his discourse rhetorical.

The Jesuits send their novices to learn to preach in the public places and corners of the streets. We took the Dogana or Custom-house in our way home. It was anciently the Curia Antonina. A range of Corinthian pillars with the entablature is now standing in the wall of this building. These pillars are placed nearer one another than I have observed any other antiques to be. In the palace of Verospi we saw some antique statues. I had almost forgot the Roman College. It is a vast and noble building, governed by the Jesuits. In the court of it we saw a list of the books read and explained in the several schools. I observed the only Greek books they read were Homer's Batrac[h]omyomachia and Esop's Fables.

Jan. 25.

This morning we spent at home. In the afternoon we walked through the city as far as the Ripa Grande. The most remarkable piece of antiquity that we had not observed before was the Ponte Senatorio, of which a good part is still remaining. We visited several churches. That of the Madonna di Loretto: it is a neat small round church, handsomely adorned. Over the great altar we saw a picture of the Casa Santa carried by angels, and the Madonna and Bambino sitting on the top of it. The church of St. Cæcilia, which was first built Anno Domini 232. We saw several fine paintings in it, particularly a fine Madonna col Bambino by Guido Reni. Here is likewise a very rich altar, adorned with lapis lazuli, agate, &c., and a prodigious number of silver lamps burning night and day. S. Maria delli Orti, a very beautiful church, richly encrusted with marble of different kinds, and embellished with painting and gilding. There is particularly a fine Madonna by Taddeo Zuccre [Zuccaro]. In the church of S. Francisco de la Ripa we saw, amongst other considerable paintings, a fine Dead Christ, &c. by Annibal Carache, and a beautiful statue of the Cavaliere Bernini's representing a noble Roman lady beatified. In the Palazzo Matthei we saw several statues and some very fine bas-reliefs. This night we went to see a play, with interludes of music. The play broke off in the beginning upon the principal actor's being run through the leg on the stage by accident.

Die 5to Maii, A.D. 1717, iter auspicati sumus [1].

Per 3 hor. et ½ utrinque lætissimus ager, vites ulmis frequentissimis implicatæ, interstitia frumento &c., repleta. Sylva seu potius hortus videbatur perpetuus. Via cumulata pulverea ex utrovis latere fossæ, sepes rariores agro plerumque patente, in hoc tractu vici 2 vel 3 dein Ardessa urbs, deinde vicus.

Per ½ hor. prata et seges aperta.

Per 1 hor. campi latiores neque adeo arboribus impediti; frumentum &c.; ulmi insuper et vites, sed rariores; in hoc tractu vicus insigni domo conspicuus.

Per ¼ hor. prata et linum a sinistris; frumentum et fabæ &c. a dextris; campus ad lævam apertissimus, a dextris nonnihil arboribus consitus; per totum iter montes a dextris sed remotiores.

Capua, animæ 7000; seminarium sub patrocinio Cardinalis Caraccioli; studentes 80; ex iis alumni 30; xysti ubi scholares, lecti &c., præses Collegii Urbanus. Vinum bonum; bibliotheca ⅙ ad minimum librorum ad legem spectant.

Ecclesia Cathedralis in qua picturæ mosaicæ et 24 columnæ ex marmore granito. Urbs ista foris quam intus pulchrius exhibet spectaculum.

A Capua nova ad antiquam iter continuatum est per ½ hor. in planitie ex utravis parte frumentum, cannabe, ulmi et vites, sed rariores, tuguria seu domus raræ.

Porta Capuæ veteris Amphitheatri reliquiæ, in iis arcus foveis et ingressui inservientes; saxa marmorea ingentis molis et lateres adhuc quasi recentes, pars exigua muri extimi in qua visuntur semi-columnæ ordinis Dorici sine fregio; ulnæ (3 pedes) 600 circa orbem exteriorem.

¼ milliaris abhinc visitur specus lateritius fenestris perforatis superne tecto cylindrico, constat xystis tribus in hanc formam II: duo longiores pass. 135, brevior 117, jumenta 439 ibi stabulari possunt, nimirum dum copiis inservit Romanis.

[1] The travellers had moved from Rome to Naples in the interval between Jan. 25 and May 5, on which last day they set forth on their tour in Calabria, recorded in what follows. He writes from Naples to Lord Percival on April 5, enthusiastic on Naples.

S. Maria di Capua a Capua vetere ad Casertam iter patuit unius horæ. Campi utrinque largiores frumento et cannabe consiti, ulmis et vitibus cincti juxta viam sepulchrum haud procul a specu, passus 82 in circuitu, cavitates statuis recipiendis idoneæ 14 ab extra, murus duplex et inter muros ascensus, muri ex lapidibus exiguis reticulatis sive ad normam adamantis sectis cum nervis insuper lateritiis. Columnæ in muro exteriore simplicissimæ. Aliæ nonnullæ reliquiæ. Vici 2 vel 3 inter Capuam et Casertam.

Caserta, a small city consisting of little more than one large square; palace of the prince out of repair; villa about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from town, house therein much decayed; painted pavilions, marble porticos, &c., shew it to have been fine; gardens large, out of order; walks through a large grove, fountains, grottos, statues, one good one of a shepherd playing on a pipe. These made 150 years agone, now in ruins, though the prince spends part of his time here[1].

[Caserta] May 16.

Monastery of S. Maria del Angelo, pleasantly situate on the side of a mountain, with a cypress grove behind it, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from Caserta. This mountain anciently Tifata: place famous for Hannibal's camp which was pitched there.

$\frac{1}{4}$ more St. Gracel, small village; little house on the point of a lower mountain. Matalona[2], open pleasant town, well built, clean, an hour from Caserta.

$\frac{1}{4}$ more through an alley set with trees to the Duke's villa; the house Gothic but neat; grottos, waterworks, statues, beans, peas, kitchen-stuff, tall trees, laurel hedges, but not so trim as ours, the whole in a natural noble taste beyond the French; a stream, from the villa to the inn an hour.

Corn-fields surrounded with elms and vines, hemp, Indian corn, lupins. From the villa onwards groves of apricots, some cherries also and walnuts; giuppi support-

[1] Caserta, six miles from Capua, is about seventeen miles north-east of Naples.

[2] Maddaloni in *Orgiazzi's* map.

ing vines; apricots, 2 sometimes, 3 frequently, make 33 ounces. Here we dined.

From the inn, plain between mountains, the plain fruitful, thick set with vines and fruit-trees; after ½ hour deep road, suffering nothing to be seen; ¼ hour and the former scene recovered; mountains on the right well covered with trees to the top, and two or three houses; mountains on the left fruitful only at bottom; hedge runs along the road; deep or hollow road.

Arpæ, a small town with old walls and towers, taken by some for Furcæ Caudinæ. Asps; roads paved with gravel. ¾ hor., fields open, corn and odd trees with vines, row of asps of great length; pleasant village on the side of a mount on the left. A small close grew (of asps I think).

35′ pass through Monte Sarki, pleasant town towards the bottom of a conical rock, on the point of which a castle; dance with music of pipe and tambour. ½ hor. more mountains on left expire; trees thick, open country, wood on our right, vale amidst rising hills; well; some coarse ground; trees few, and few of them with grapes; rivulet through the bottom of the glade; whitish stony soil; low vale on the right, rising ground on left; 2 or 3 bridges over the rivulet; shining flies; moonlight; bridge over a small river; Beneventum 10 at night. Principato Ulteriore overo provincia Hirpina con qualche parte di Sanniti e Campani. 13 cities, bishoprics, except Beneventum and Conza, both archbishoprics; good wines; nuts and chesnuts; many fishing waters; woods full of game; cold and healthy.

[Beneventum] May 17.

Beneventum[1] situate on a rising ground, often suffers by earthquakes; particularly in 1688, when the greatest part was destroyed, i.e. two-thirds. Since which several palaces were beautifully rebuilt. The country round it hill and dale, various, open; inhabitants esteemed 10,000; 12 sbirri and 12 soldiers of the Pope's in garrison. Archbishop, Cardinal Ursini, his library chiefly law and scholastic divinity; character good, the miracle of his

[1] Beneventum is 32 miles north-east of Naples.

being saved in an earthquake by the intercession of St. Philippo Neri painted in his chapel. Handsome place, hall hung with arms of archbishops; souls in his diocese 91,985, secular clergy 1405. The statue of the Bubalus, that of the lion, ugly, on a pillar near the castle; the Porta Aurea, with the respective inscriptions; divers statues and pieces of statues of lions, these probably the arms of Beneventum. Streets paved with marble, many fragments of antiquity in the walls of houses, friezes, architraves, &c. broken. Amphitheatre, the ruins of it consisting of prodigious stones and brickwork, like those of Rome and Capua, though not near so much remaining. Cathedral clean and in good repair; granite pillars ten, built supposedly on the foundation of an old temple, several fragments of the like pillars lying in the streets; this city refuge for banditti, ill-looking folks; landlord murdered (I think) 7. Some ruins of temples at some distance in the environs of the town. Papal territory 2 miles one side, 3 on the other; city poor and mean. Beneventum came into the hands of the Pope in the eleventh century. Said to have been built by Diomedes, king of Ætolia.

Set out from Beneventum at 5 hours English in the evening. Gentle hills and vales, pleasant, various, fruitful, like England; vines round poles on left; corn, pasture for oxen, a few. 5 h. + 40 m., olives on the right, open roads. 6 h., asps with vines round them on right. 6 h. + 8 m., hedge-rows, wild roses in the hedges, fruitful hills all the way in view on our right. Few oxen, 2 or 3 sheep, fern and bushes, lakes and pleasant hedges; several beautiful hedges with red, yellow, and blue flowers, the deep red flower remarkably beautiful and predominant; trees with vines. Terra Nuova, a pleasant village on the hills on right; vineyards left, corn right; few sheep, asses, and oxen. 7 h. + 10 m., palace of the Marchese Santo Georgio; trees and vines thick right and left. Monte Fusco and Monte Mileto, pleasant towns on points of hills on right; trees, vines, and corn right and left; open roads, trees and vines thick, delicious scene as various and better planted than round Beneventum. 7 h. + ½, painted meadows; 2 towns on the sides of hills on our right; vineyards left, corn right; lupins; delightful opening of great extent; shrubs; open region continued, like Ireland; river

Calore ; stony road along the side of it ; bridge, on the other side of which, at a small distance, a single house seen.

[Ponte Calore] May 18.

Set out at five in the morning from Ponte Calore ; country open, wavy, various, less fruitful than the day before, but thinly inhabited ; procession out of a small town (I think La Grotta), to implore rain ; 2 confraternities, crosses, standards, girls crowned with leaves some, and some with thorns, all barefoot but the priests and friars.

Short chasm.

Shrubs on right, pasture left ; vines round reeds on the sides of the hills in our first ascent to the city. Grottos in the side of the rock inhabited, several one above another. Ariano, poor city on a hill. The environs hilly ; bare open ground ; alphabet over the bishop's gate ; Spina Santa carried in procession, crosses on men's shoulders, men and women after the clergy of all orders. Bread good, water bad, which probably made some think it the Equus Tuticus of Horace, which opinion confuted by Cluverius, or rather the town 'quod versu dicere non est,' for it is not doubted to be the Equus Tuticus built by Diomedes. Having dined and walked round the town, set out from Ariano at 3 h. + ½ : vines, opening scene, and grove on right, some corn, some pasture, indifferent soil and a few sheep ; hills all round and those naked ; a great hollow glade on the left, another on the right. A wide plain before like a theatre, and a semicircle of hills facing us. This plain mostly pasture, two flocks of black sheep on it, no trees ; bridge over a small stream ; valley after the plain ; bridge over the fontane ; all mountains, Savigni right, Grieci left. 5 h. + 53 m., shrubs right and left, wood on the hills ; stony road ; pleasant vale, oaks, &c. ; laat esculeta ; long stony road through a forest ; fountain seeming ancient with wall of great stones. Still forest ; moonlight ; lightnings without thunder ; 10 a clock arrive at a large waste inn (i.e. little inhabited for the size, having [been] the country palace of some nobleman), called Ponte Bovino.

[Ponte Bovino] May 19.

Set out at six; bridge over Cervaro, bridge without water, as two or three yesterday; hills. Troja, a city on left on a rising ground; coarse ground, wood. 6 h. + 50 m., large plain; black sandy soil between naked hills; corn, a little shrub, much the greater part poor pasture. 10¼, Ardona [1], anciently Ardonea, now only an inn. At 2½ set out from Ardona; the same vast plain, parched, poor, hardly any corn or houses to be seen; mountains at a great distance, sometimes on right, sometimes on left, sometimes on both; a tree here and there, a wood, some groves at a distance on left; granary of the Jesuits; 30 carts; corn throughout Apulia burnt up this year. 5 h., the sea appears on left. 6 h. + ½, we come to La Cerignola, a village well enough built; in it 4 convents and the palace of a prince; passed the Aufidus at 9 + ½ over an old bridge; came to Canusium, now Canosa, at 10 + ½. [N.B. On passing the Aufidus the ground grew unequal. After much wandering in the dark, and clambering in our chaises over stones out of the way, we arrived at Canosa.]

[Canosa] May 20.

In Canusium old bad statue, castle; poor town on a low hill; land round it looked poor, great part plain, the rest gentle risings; no trees; monument of Boemund very magnificent for that age, being the Greek architecture of the Secolo basso. Catacombs, therein niches, in some whereof six or seven hollows like troughs for dead bodies, all out of soft rock; grottos, old temple with four porches, afterwards had been turned to a church; Roman ruins mistaken for those of a monastery, huge brick walls and fragments of pillars shew antiquity; old gate, brick, with the arch entire; ruins full of odd insects, lizards, serpents, tarantulas, scorpions, &c., the earth full of holes for them; some old pieces of wall, but nothing entire seen at a distance. N.B. At Canosa I saw the fellow reading a book that he knew not one word of, out of devotion. From

[1] Ordona, *Org.*

Canusium to Cannæ, about six miles by the side of the Aufidus; this a river that would be thought small in England, with deep banks. Cannæ, its few ruins on a small hill, being fragments of white marble pillars, bits of walls, wrought stones, &c., nothing great. Field of battle must have been the plain between Cannæ and Canosa, on the bank of the Aufidus; on the other side the plain a gentle rising ground; land between Cannæ and Barletta planted with corn on the side next the sea: the Spur of Italy in view[1].

Barletta, in a plain by the sea-side; bishoprick; inhabitants last year 11,500 (so the Prior of the Theatines assured us); wide, fair, well-built streets, all hewn stone, diamond-cut, rustic; cathedral poor; Colossus, in bronze, in the principal street of the town, of Heraclius. In the Jesuits' church this epitaph: 'Hectoris a Marra fratris memoriæ æternitati amori marmor æs aurum Antonius a Marra posuit.' 2 convents, 5 nunneries, Theatines 8, Jesuits 10. Antonius a Marra's altar in the Jesuits' cost 18,000 ducats, besides other benefactions given and expected; he the only benefactor. Theatines' poor library; their Prior, or properly their Padre Vicario's cabinet of pasteboard fruit shewed by him as a great curiosity; the Piemontese father who talk[ed] of play and the court with gusto, &c. N.B. At Barletta the inn was only for mules or horses; we found nevertheless a camera locanda in a private house, with good beds, &c., but we bought our own provisions.

N.B. The P. Vicario tells us of the tarantula, he cured several with the tongue of the serpente impetrito found in Malta, and steeped in wine and drunk after the ninth or last dance, there being 3 dances a day for three days; on the death of the tarantula the malady ceases; it is communicated by eating fruit bit by a tarantula. He thinks it not a fiction, having cured among others a Capucin, whom he could not think would feign for the sake of dancing. The patients affect different coloured hangings. Thus far the father. N.B. The peasant at Canosa told us his way of catching the tarantula, which takes the end of a straw wet with spittle and thrust into the hole in

[1] Barletta is distant about eight miles from the battle-field of Cannæ, on a rocky island in the Adriatic.

his mouth on the man's whistling, and suffers himself to be drawn out. One peasant at Canosa was afraid of them, while his companion laughed and said he had taken them without harm in his hands.

[Barletta] May 21.

Left Barletta at 6 in the morning, along the sea-side; corn, a few vineyards, and enclosures on each side the road, some stony and open, uncultivated, after that open with low shrubs. 7¼, enclosures, corn, vines, figs on right and left. N.B. Square low towers begun to be observed this morning at certain distances along the coast, being spy-towers against the Turks. 7.38′, close by the sea on left; vines, figs, and other fruit-trees all the way to Trani; strike off from the sea a little in the road to Trani, just before we enter the city. This city, as Barletta, paved and built almost entirely of white marble; noble cathedral, Gothic, of white marble, in the nave two double rows of columns made out of the fragments of old pillars, granite, &c.; pieces of pillars lying in the streets; port stopped or choked; piracies of the Turks make it unsafe travelling by night; inhabitants 7,000; convents 5 or 6; archbishop; poor library of the left convent, viz. the Dominicans; a thousand crowns per annum make the revenue of that convent; 6, 8, or 10 go to a convent in these towns. N.B. The muscatell of Trani excellent. [N.B. Ports of Trani and Brindisi choaked by the Spaniards to suppress commerce. M.]

From Trani in something above an hour we reached Biseglia; road lay through vines, pomegranates, olives, figs, almonds, &c., and enclosures, part hedge, part loose stone walls. Biseglia is a city on the coast, beautiful, well-built; the lower part white marble, of the town, walls, and houses, the rest hewn stone; without the town-wall a fosse. N.B. Walls likewise and bastions round the two last towns, but nothing of considerable strength observed by us. Biseglia, as divers other cities in Apulia, suffered much in an earthquake 15 years before, of which several signs remaining in palaces repaired, cracks in the walls, &c. Handsome palaces of the Durazzi, Flori, and other

nobles; the taste noble and unaffected, were it not for the diamond cut in some façades; 1500 families, or as others reckon 8 or 9,000 souls; commerce of this and the two foregoing towns, corn, oil, almonds, &c.; small, insecure, pitiful port for Tartans, boats, &c.; convents 5, nunneries 2; a bishopric. The environs full of villas and charming gardens; no inn in this town, an auberge for horses only without the walls. From Biseglia to Molfetta 5 miles, the road very stony, loose stone walls on both sides; the same fruits and corn, but olives in greatest quantity; the square towers still along the coast, the sea a field's breadth distant on the left; the last mile we coasted close; little or no strand; no mountains all this day in sight. Molfetta, a small walled city, walls, towers, buildings of white marble; noble convent of Dominicans, with a church of very handsome architecture, and another with a beautiful façade adorned with statues [1]. From Molfetta to Giovanasso 3 miles by the sea-side, close; the country on the right well planted with fruit-trees and corn as before; the road very rugged with stones, no hedges in view, but maceriæ or stone walls; within half a mile of Giovanasso a quarry of white marble, the shore all the way rugged with rocks of white marble; sea rough. Giovanasso walled with towers, &c., all squared stones of a yellowish rather than of white marble; town but mean within, streets narrow, poor look, said to contain about 4,000 souls. They seem to exceed in the numbers of this town and Biseglia. From Giovanasso 3 miles by the sea, road exceeding rough, country as before. Then we struck off from the sea a little through a plain, partly corn, partly shrub, green and various, the land on the right continuing as before; little white square houses in the vineyards all along this day's journey, since we left Trani. Turks taking off whole families together. Round and pyramidal heaps of stones in the fields, vines and corn on right and left, fruit-trees at some distance on right; deep sand and bad road before we entered Bari. Delicious vineyards, gardens, &c., powdered with little white houses about Bari.

[1] Now a considerable town, population nearly 30,000, 16 miles S.W. of Bari

[Bari] May 22.

Castle of Bari. Bari hath inhabitants 18,000; moles old and new, port shallow, not admitting ships of any burden; square towers at every half-mile, the watchmen advertise each other by smoke from them, this round the coasts of the kingdom. Convents of Franciscans and Augustines[1]. In the former a father played on the organ, which he said was the curiosity most visited next to St. Nicolo, and it was indeed very fine; visited likewise other convents, Capucins and Minims, out of town, pleasantly situated, cool cloisters, orange and lemon little groves in them, fine views, delicious living. Jesuits in the city, one of them upon our demanding to see their library, asked whether we had confessed, and sent us first to see St. Nicolo. The adventure succeeding, the fountain sanctified by the bone of that saint lying in a marble case on the brink of it, but commonly thought to flow from the bone; Head of the Franciscans, with great devotion, showed us the nail that nailed the knocker of the door which the angel struck to tell the mother of St. Francis that she should not be delivered till she came down to the stable, after the manner of the Blessed Virgin. Bari hath not above 9 noble families, merchants; streets narrow and dirty, buildings not beautiful. In the evening of this day we took a walk out of the town and searched for tarantuli; they shewed us certain spiders with red bodies for them, or certain reddish spiders: the environs extremely pleasant. N. B. Inhabitants of Terra di Bari reckoned somewhat stupid. N. B. We employed peasants at Canosa, &c., to find us tarantuli, but in vain, because the hottest season not then come. Returning we met a French officer, who invited us to dine, and called on us next day, which we spent here hearing of Tarantati [*sic*] dance[2].

[1] Bari is a seaport of southern Italy, on the Adriatic, nearly 150 miles north-east of Naples, with a population now of above 50,000, about thirty-three miles from Barletta.

[2] On the opposite pages of the Diary Berkeley has here copied a long passage from the dissertation of Baglini, entitled *Dissertatio de Anatome, morsu, et effectibus Tarantulæ.*

[Bari] May 23.

The French officer, with the Abbate Fanelli and another Abbate, all concur in the belief of the tarantula, and that peremptorily, ladies of quality as well as mean folks bitten, e. g. a cousin of the Abbate Fanelli and the wife to the Ricevitore di Malta. Nothing given to the tarantati, they paying the music themselves. The number of the days of dancing not limited to three; different instruments of music for different patients; they see the tarantula in the looking-glass, which directs their motions. The officer saw 30 tarantati dance together at Foggi. Tarantula likewise found, say they, in the Campagna di Roma. Don Alessio Dolone told me the tarantati affected those colours that were in the tarantula, that he knew an old woman turned of 60, servant in a nunnery, that danced, &c. He would not believe it at first, but was then convinced. As to the time of dancing, he and another gentleman said it was not to a day the anniversary of their being bitten, but it may be some days sooner or later; no bite discoverable in the patient. The tarantato that we saw dancing in a circle paced round the room, and sometimes in a right line to and from the glass; staring now and then in the glass, taking a naked sword, sometimes by the hilt, and dancing in a circle, the point to the spectators, and often very near particularly to myself, who sate near the glass, sometimes by the point, sometimes with the point stuck in his side, but not hurting him; sometimes dancing before the musicians and making odd flourishes with the sword, all which seemed too regularly and discreetly managed for a madman; his cheeks hollow and eyes somewhat ghastly, the look of a feverish person; took notice of us strangers; red and blue silks hung on cords round the room, looking-glass on a table at one end of the room, drawn sword lay by it (which he regularly laid down after using it), pots of greens adorned with ribbons of various colours; danced about half an hour the time or bout we saw him, had danced before 4 hours, and between whiles was to continue dancing till night; crowd of spectators, who danced many of them, and probably paid the music; we gave money to the music; the man's bow to us as he came in; my danger from the sword; he did not seem to regard

the colours. Tarantata likewise seen, daughter to a man of note and substance in the city; chamber or large hall adorned as the other, bating the sword and looking-glass; danced or paced round in a circle, a man bearing a green bough decked with ribbons of gay colours; she seemed not to mind the bough, colours, or company, looked fixed and melancholy; relations and friends sate round the hall; none danced but the tarantata. Her father certainly persuaded that she had her disorder from the tarantula: his account that she had been ill 4 years, pined away, and no medicines could do good, till one night, upon her hearing the tune of the Tarantula played in the street, she jumped out of bed and danced; from that time, he told us, he knew her disorder. He assured us that for 3 months before we saw her she had taken no nourishment except some small trifle which she almost constantly threw up again, and that the next day he expected (according to what he had found before) that she would be able to eat and digest well, which was, he thought, owing to her dancing at that time of the year. That this very morning she looked like death, no mark of a bite on her, no knowledge when or how she came to be bitten. Girl seemed about 15 or 16, and ruddy look while we saw her.

[Bari] May 24.

Set out from Bari at 7 in the morning, the sea a quarter of a mile distant on left; the road stony, land likewise, loose stone walls for hedges; corn, vines, fruit-trees as before, with extremely delightful small white houses. N. B. The gentry of Bari dare not lie during the summer in their villas, for fear of the Turks. 8 a clock we had an enlarged view delivered from the stone enclosures on the roadside; houses now few or none. 8½, rugged ascent, rocky unequal ground; land now wavy a little, hitherto from Barletta a plain; great stones and shrubs on the right; in a word, a large open tract since the rugged ascent, with little corn and much shrub. 9+25′, close by the sea; rocky, unequal, great stones, shrubs and pasture among them, a few oxen, corn on right, not a house in view though the country quite open, not a tree but shrubs. 10, the country again fertile, corn, vines and fruit-trees

in abundance. N. B. Vines in Apulia unsupported ; world of fig-trees on right, corn on left, and open to the sea. $10+\frac{1}{2}$, along the shore, no strand but flat rock ; corn reaped and standing in sheaves. Strike off a little from the sea ; fig-trees very large, mulberries several, stone walls next the sea ; few or no trees in the corn ; the right well planted, few or no houses (I suppose) for fear of the Turks, which obligeth families to live in towns ; figs predominant, though all the same trees as about Bari. Mola, small city walled round ; a castle ; old cathedral, suburb bigger than the city within the walls ; no place in the town to dress or eat our victuals in ; a merchant of the town gave us the use of an apartment to eat our own meat in, as likewise a present of cherries. Mola hath a great and considerable trade ; 5,000 souls in Mola ; strange to see beggars live in houses of hewn stone ; 3 or 4 handsome cupolas[1]. $1+40'$, left Mola ; well planted fruitful country as before. 2, a stony, rocky, shrubby tract. $2\frac{3}{4}$, wood of large olive-trees, little corn, a large white monastery on the left in the forest of olives. 3 h. 40 m., got out of the olive-forest ; craggy ascent, rocky way close by the sea, loose stone wall on the right and rocks, shrubs, olive-trees. Pulignano in view ; bridge over a valley or narrow glen among rocks ; unequal rocky ground ; another bridge over a chasm or glen. The town Pulignano small, inconsiderable, walls and towers of hewn stone ; passed by it, leaving it on the left at $4+20$; rocky barren sea-coast, but on the right fruit-trees, corn, vines, almonds predominant ; locust-trees here, and between whiles ever since Barletta. $4+40$, enter a grove of olives, some pears, &c. intermixed ; soil twixt red and yellow, stony. $5+50$, corn reaped, the olive plantation divided into squares by loose stone walls, serving only to clear the soil of stones. $6+5$, out of the olive grove or forest. This afternoon we had a ridge of low hills parallel to our road, a mile off on right, covered with trees for the most part. $6+\frac{1}{4}$, Monopoli[2], walled, 8,000 inhabitants ; 6,000 died of the plague twenty-two years agone : steeple having all the orders ; palace on the right new and of a good gout, were not the Doric pilasters ill

[1] Mola, another seaport on the Adriatic, is about fourteen miles from Bari to the south-east.

[2] Monopoli, a seaport on the Adriatic, about thirty miles south-east of Bari.

proportioned; cathedral, piazza indifferent, convents nine, nunneries four; trade in oil and almonds. Governor, a nobleman of Naples, Don Tito Reco, offered his house; being refused, recommended us to the Franciscan convent without the walls; he walked us round the town; the friars' treatment of us; the Definitore's conversation; their retiring tower and ladder, their guns, preparations, watch against the Turk.

[Monopoli] May 25.

Left the convent at 6+30; stony road, stone walls, corn, open. 7, even road, red soil, corn, olives. 7+20, forest of olives; lose our way in this forest[1]. 10+5, out of the olive forest into a corn-field; pasture; the sea about a mile distant; much wild thyme; pasture, olives, corn, shrub, stones, thyme. 10+½, the same olive forest again. 11+½, shrubs, corn-fields, pasture. 12+½, serpents, copse or thicket, pasture, trees, olives, unequal craggy ground. 1+10, forest of olives; dined under an olive-tree. 3+¾, out of the forest into a thicket, wild thyme among the shrubs in abundance; corn, thicket of shrubs again; a few cows and oxen here, as through the whole kingdom, whitish; olive-trees and shrubs mixed, fields of pasture and corn among the shrubs. 7, the hills on our right all this day and half of yesterday end; open country, with shrubs, &c.; hollow stony road about a mile before Brundisium, where we arrived at 9+½. Country round Brundisi well planted with corn and vines, but open, having few trees, and those fruit-trees. Appian Way near the town, which is ill built, straggling, poor.

[Brindisi] May 26.

Two pillars of white marble, the one entire, Corinthian and urn on the top, the other only pedestal and piece of the top, which fell and remained on the pedestal A.D. 1528,

[1] [Liquefaction formerly at Gnatia [Egnasia *Org.*] as now at Naples. This left on our left hand for fear of the Turks, which likewise caused the loss of the road: country exceeding dry all this morning.

'Iratis Gnatia lymphis.'

Hor. I. Sat. 5.]—AUTHOR. See Cramer's *Italy*, vol. II. p. 299, for further references.

without any storm or earthquake, the intermediate parts falling out; this looked on as a presage of the ruin of the city, which ensued in the war between the League and Charles V. The two pillars the ancient arms of Brundisium, as having been built by the son of Heracles, who erected two pillars at the Straits. The two pillars had figures of puttini, &c. above the foliage [1].

N. B. The following inscription on one of the pedestals:—

✠ ILLVSTRISPIVSACTIB : ATO : REFVLG

PTOSPATHALVPVSVRBEMHANCSTRVXITADIM :

QVAMIMPERATORESMAGNIFICIQ:BENIG . . . . . desunt reliquæ.

[1] [Brundisium. N. B. Orange gardens in groves in the suburbs where we entered Brundisium. Bad air from choaking the port, and few inhabitants. Giro of the old city 7 miles, strong walls round it, whereof remains now much less, with vacant streets and piazzas.

Fidelitas Brundusina the motto to their arms, i. e. the pillars. Two forts, the newest built by Philip, the second built on a tongue of land two miles from the town, reckoned the strongest in the kingdom.

ABP. Among reliques in the dome the tongue of St. Jerome and 12 heads of the 11000 virgins attending or accompanying St. Ursula. The magistrates are chosen (i.e. syndic, maestro-giurato, treasurer, &c.) by a child drawing balls of divers colours at hazard in the town-house in the presence of the governor and judge every day of the Vergine assunta.

The island before the port of Brundusium mentioned by Cæsar, Bell. Civ., Lib. 3; first Libo and after that another of Pompey's admirals having possessed themselves of it to blockade the part of Cæsar's army which remained in Brundusium.

Brundisium the first town we came to in Terra d'Otranto, and Castelnetta the last in our return. Taranto and Brindisi, with all the towns below them, are in the province, which was formerly Messapia Salentina or Calabria. Air in most parts good, especially about Lecce: produce corn, wine, and oil in plenty; also sheep and strong mules in plenty, which last are much esteemed: minerals also, as saltpetre, bolo Armeno, Terra Lemnia, and excellent salt for whiteness at Taranto. 3 abps. and 10 bps.; the former Brindisi, Otranto, and Taranto.

Strabo (Lib. 6) describes the town and ports as a stag's head and antlers, and as more convenient even than that of Tarentum, which had *intus quædam vadosa*. No *vada* there, but many in Brundisium. This the common passage into Greece, the opposite city of Illyricum, Dyrrachium, receiving on the other side.

'Hinc latus angustum,' &c.

Lucan l. [ii.]

'Gravis autumnus in Apulia circumque Brundisium ex saluberrimis Galliæ Hispaniæque regionibus omnem exercitum valetudine tentaverat,' Cæsar (Bell. Civ., Lib. 3), speaking of his army when he followed Pompey.]—AUTHOR.

Brindisi (Brundisium) is about 100 miles south-east of Bari.

Several fragments of ancient pillars about the town, churches nothing extraordinary; Capucins, fratres minores conventuales inter quos Monsignor Griego; walk round the walls, of the old ones some ancient ruins; a bishopric. I judge this, in proportion to the other towns, to contain about 4,000 or 5,000 souls; as to the port and town, it is, as Strabo saith, a stag's head and antlers. We walked round the town and found some pieces of the walls of the ancient town, which was much bigger than the modern. As to the port, N. B. Five islands and the island with the castle or fortress, then a port or bay, and within that another port or bay, then the stag's front, then the horns on either side embracing; a bishopric. N. B. An English seaman here demands our charity; his working and earning twelve pence a day, his boxing with the townsfolks, his pretending to go to Naples, his shipwreck and companions going through the country[1]. Left Brindisi at $4+6$; a bridge over a narrow sinus of the sea (i.e. one of the horns), olives and corn, vines, corn, and fig-trees, pasture and yellow flowers, corn, beans, oats, low shrub left, pasture right, coarse pasture; all this land open, sandy barren soil, here and there corn, low shrubs but no trees, a large extended plain, wild artichokes, long shrub, corn, shrub, corn. $7+\frac{1}{4}$, olive grove or forest, the trees of this and the other olive forests large and of great age; corn on left and vines on right, more little farm houses or villas than usual, figs, pere muscadelle, vines; a village; Indian aloes common here and elsewhere; vines right, corn left, olive grove, corn, open country, spacious corn-field right, olive plantation left; ample stubble right and left; olive grove, vines, figs, pears, apples, &c. left; vineyard right and left; wine presses, olive grove. $8+\frac{1}{2}$, seeming all the way olive grove and large vineyards and corn intermixed. Long tract of open country, corn, pasture, fruit-trees. Leave at midnight; obliged to wait some time for the opening of the gates.

[1] [At Naples informed of the villany of him and his comrades in murdering some Mahometan passengers.]—Author.

[Lecce] May 27.

Function on Corpus Christi day in Lecce[1]: standards, images, streamers, host, rich habits of priests, ecclesiastics of all sorts, confraternities, militia, guns, squibs, crackers, new clothes. Piazza, in it an ancient Corinthian pillar sustaining the bronze statue of St. Orontius; protexi et protegam; marble statue on horseback of Charles the Fifth, another on horseback of a King of Spain on the top of a fountain adorned with many bad statues; Jesuits' college most magnificent; fine buildings of hewn stone, ornamented windows, pilasters, &c.; large streets, divers piazzas, façades of churches, &c.; inhabitants 16,000; eight miles from the sea; oil only commodity; convents fourteen, nunneries sixteen; streets open, pleasant, but crooked; several open places; situate in a most spacious plain; gusto in the meanest houses; nowhere so common ornamented doors and windows; balconies, pillars, balustrades, all of stone, the stone easily wrought; incredible profusion of ornaments in the façades of churches, convents, &c., pillars or pilasters (mostly Composite or Corinthian), festoons, flowerpots, puttini, and other animals crowded in the chapiters above the foliages, double friezes filled with relievo, i. e. beside the common frieze another between the chapiters. Took particular notice of the Jesuits' church, that of the Dominicans, nunnery of St. Teresa, convent of the Benedictines, of the Carmelites, nunnery of St. Chiara. These and many more deserved attention; most of them crowded with ornaments, in themselves neat but injudiciously huddled together. The façades of the church and convent of the Jesuits noble and unaffected, the air and appearance wonderfully grand; two rows of pilasters, first Composite, second or upper Ionic, with mezzoninos above the second row of windows; windows in front twenty-six, and two between each pair of pilasters in front; orange-trees in the squares within the cloisters, long corridors before the chambers, which had each a door of stone ornamented like that of a palace. Some Greek MSS., as of Lycophron, Stephanus de Urbibus,

[1] Lecce (*Aletium*) is now a considerable town in South Italy of more than 20,000 inhabitants.

and Homer in their library, but those dispersed, and no index that I could see. Twenty-five windows in front beside the church. Façade of the Benedictines' convent and church wonderfully crowded with ornaments, as likewise the altars generally adorned with twisted pillars flourished all over, and loaden with little puttini, birds, and the like in clusters on the chapiters and between the wreaths along the fusts of the columns. Nothing in my travels more amazing than the infinite profusion of alto-relievo, and that so well done: there is not surely the like rich architecture in the world. The square of the Benedictines is the finest I ever saw; the cloisters have a flat roof and balustrade supported by double beautiful pillars with rich capitals, a fountain also and statues in the middle; the corridors above stairs are long, lofty, and wide in proportion; prospect into the town and country very pleasant; each chamber of the fathers hath a noble balcony of stone, Corinthian and Composite pilasters in front; the vast number of locusts; in the piazza the pillar from Brundisium supporting a statue in bronze of St. Orontius. Cathedral handsome, much gilding and indifferent painting, modern architecture, noble steeples; hospital rustic at bottom, double pilasters, Doric below, Ionic above, simple; seminary near the cathedral, rich façade, plain, neat, handsome square within; bishop's palace, fine ascent by double stairs and balustrades, open arched portico. Façade of the Jesuits' church ornamented but not redundantly, as noble as I remember anywhere to have seen, very fine; as likewise that of the Nosocomium St. Spiritus, very neat and unembarrassed, in which Corinthian pilasters with festoons between. Houses generally but two stories, but noble air and well proportioned in height to the breadth of the streets; several fine gates nobly adorned; interdetto; people civil and polite, and, so far as we had dealings, honest and reasonable; variety in the supporters of their balustrades; bold flights of architecture, as in the façade of the church of St. Matteo, a nunnery; garlands and coronets often round their pillars and pilasters. Church of the Carmelites very good, especially within; now building out of their own stock, which is only 2000 ducats per annum, and to maintain twenty-six persons; in the front a little diamond work,

which they are sometimes guilty of. Dominicans, a Greek cross; Carmelites, whimsical unequal figure; others oval, &c.; no remains of antiquity. Lecce seems as large as Florence in extent, but houses lower; not a spout or supporter to the balustrade or balcony, but wrought in the grotesque figure of some animal, or otherwise carved; horses, men, griffins, bears, &c. supporting the balcony of the Benedictines' church, with a round window somewhat Gothic; stone handsome and well coloured. In no part of Italy such a general gusto of architecture. Environs well inhabited; gates Corinthian and Composite; Jesuits' convent vast building for fourteen fathers; no river; their gusto too rich and luxuriant, occasioned without doubt by the facility of working their stone; they seem to shew some remains of the spirit and elegant genius of the Greeks [who] formerly inhabited these parts.

[Lecce] May 28.

$8+\frac{3}{4}$, set out from Lecce; corn, sheep, pasture, olives, olive-grove. $10+25$, quit the grove; corn, sheep, pasture; fine view to the left of a country well inhabited; white houses, extended fields, rows of trees, groves, scattered trees, the whole a wide plain. $11+10$, corn, wide unenclosed plain, few trees, reddish soil, not very rich and somewhat sandy. $11+25$, passed through Guagniano, a considerable village and well built; stony road, corn, vines, fig-trees, stone walls for hedges, open stony ground, burnt grass, as indeed everywhere; sheep, a small flock; large vineyards right and left; walnuts; spacious corn-fields on left, behind them trees, and behind the trees a considerable town; corn right and left; beans. $12+5$, olive grove, corn and vines and walnuts and almonds mixed with the olive-trees; got out of the grove at $12+40$; olives and vines to the left, open country, corn and scattered trees on the right; flax, corn and olives right and left. $12+50$, a wood, oaks and other forest trees thin, much underwood, oxen and cows, large birds like cranes. $1+20$, quit the wood for a large plain covered with divers sorts of pretty green shrub and thyme, which we have often met with, and supply the place of heath and fern; stubble, goats and sheep right; corn right, shrub left, the country wide and

flat; scattered trees and groves in view, but no enclosures; stony field on the right, open pasture, sheep and oxen; corn, oxen; air perfumed with spearmint growing over an ample space right and left. 2, Bracciano, a poor village, where we dined under a fig-tree by the side of a well in a poor man's garden, who helped us to a salad, &c.; this village belongs to the Archbishop of Brindisi. 4, we set out from Bracciano. Large green plain, in which corn; shrub, corn, pasture, cattle, goats, sheep; small ascent; shrub, wide stony field; shrub and stony ground; long tract of corn, interrupted in one place with a little flax, in another with a few olives; rocky ground and corn on the left; road rocky; corn right and left; parched pasture, amidst wall of huge uncemented stones grown rough with age, on the right. 7+5, Casal-nuovo; Franciscan convent; treatment there; friar at midnight knocking at the door and singing; Thomas and Scotus; conversation with the guardian in Latin, and another friar. Franciscans, except Capucins, not bitten or poisoned by the tarantula, those animals having been cursed by St. Francis; the habit worn twenty-four hours cures the tarantato.

[Casal-nuovo] May 29.

Walk out in the morning; meet a physician gathering simples in a field near the town. He judged the distemper of the tarantati to be often feigned for lewd purposes, &c., as the spiritati. The wonderful fountain, which, being in a great subterraneous grotto, runs into a cistern without ever filling it[1]. Great remains of double walls of huge stones, and fosse of the ancient Mandurium. The odd small old building, consisting of a double rotunda and a large niche at the upper end and some walls, as of a vestibule before it, said by the inhabitants to have been a temple of the Sun, afterwards turned into a church; some old pictures of saints on the wall; seems built in the early times of Christianity. Many, if not most, of the great stones in the old walls seemed a composition of oyster and scollop shells entire, cemented together by

[1] Berkeley here quotes Pliny, Lib. II. c. 103, of which the description of the fountain is an abridged translation. He adds on the margin, 'N.B. The physician mistook Livy for Pliny.'

hard plaster. Convents six, and one nunnery; 8000 souls, though I think over reckoned, belonging to the Prince of Francavilla. Corn, flax, and cotton in great plenty about Casal-nuovo. 7+50, left Casal-nuovo; corn, olives left; few figs and walnuts right; pasture amidst quarries; roads very rocky; low shrubs and thyme; land open and poor; corn and figs for half a mile before we come to Oria. 10+5, Oria, situate on a rocky hill; chain of small hills about two miles long, and Oria on one of them. A bishopric; fragments of old pillars in the streets; goodly prospect to Gravina, Brundisium, Lecce, &c. Inscription as follows on a pedestal lying in the churchyard of the cathedral:—D. M. COCCEIA M. F. PRIMA V. A. XX. . . . . M. COCCEIUS FILIÆ PIENTISSIMÆ. Plain of vast extent round on all sides; part of an old Roman wall near the castle; belongs to the Prince of Francavilla. N. B. Several caves or grottos in a rocky hill near Uria. Set out from Uria at 1, after having dined wretchedly in a stable, that being the only place we could find in the town; stony ground, corn and olives in abundance, figs, vines; long tracts of corn and long tracts of vines alternately, olives and fig-trees; ditches on each side the road, and bramble hedges. 2+½, grove of olives, ground gently wavy. 2+40 m., quit the grove; large open tract of ground, stony field, spacious field of oats, stony road, shrubs right, vineyard left. Francavilla about 2 miles on our right; vines right and left; vineyard left, field of beans right; ridge of fruitful hills about two miles off on right; corn, beans. [Rudiæ the country of Ennius, placed by Cluverius between Uria and Tarentum midway; but we saw no ruins of that town. At Lecce they placed Rudiæ within two or three miles of that city. M.] This afternoon single houses up and down the country thicker than usual; few scattered trees throughout; pasture and stubble; cows, oxen, sheep, corn, and ciceri; stony field, ploughed land, corn; shrub on left, corn right; beans, corn; stones and shrub right; ample prospect of open country, pasture, ploughed land, &c., bounded by gentle hills or risings. Get out of the spacious stony shrub; easy descent; olive grove, corn, garden stuff. Gulf of Taranto in view; large vineyard right and left; parched rough pasture. S. Giorgio, a considerable town on our

left; corn, open. Pass close by a village on our left; pasture and corn; rough, stony, shrubby ground; flock of sheep almost all black, the common colour in these parts; large shrubby, stony tract, and corn &c. a small distance to the right; slew a black serpent, 4 feet long; ploughed land, corn, shrub.

Come to the side of an arm of the Gulf on our right; great space of corn; olives at a distance to the left, on a gentle hill; the ridge of low mountains still continued on the other side of the sea; tufts of ciceri, rushes, olives, corn, cows and oxen; ascent; shrub; space of corn; corn, olives, vines, the olive-trees large and many among the corn; vines and fig-trees; olives, vines, and gardens; convents, houses; olives, pasture; corn left, convents and gardens right and left. Arrived at the Zoccolanti Scalsi [*Barefooted Friars*?] by $8+\frac{1}{2}$. $8+3$, open corn and Tarentum[1].

[Taranto] May 30.

Taranto, trade in corn and oil; inhabitants 15,000; no taste in the buildings; streets narrow and extreme dirty. Archbishop's palace noble; spacious apartments; loggie overlooking the whole Gulf of Tarentum: the security and noble prospect of that Gulf. Handsome seminary near the Archbishop's palace; logic, philosophy, theology, humanity taught in the same; youth, secular and ecclesiastic, are taught, dieted, and lodged for 30 ducats per annum each. N. B. These seminaries common. Fine inlaid chapel in the cathedral, which hath likewise ancient pillars in the great aisle, with rude chapiters; various coloured marbles in the inlayings found in the ruins of the ancient city. Nothing more beautiful than this oval inlaid chapel, painted well enough above with the life of St. Cataldus, an Irishman, formerly Archbishop of Tarentum, now patron of the city; his body behind the great altar. [The skull of St. Cataldo in the silver head (which they say was finished by an angel) of his silver statue. His tongue also uncorrupted. M.] A Gothic building shewn for Pilate's house. Several noble families settled

[1] Taranto (*Tarentum*) is more than forty miles south-west of Brindisi. It gives its name to the *tarantula*, which abounds in the neighbourhood.

in Taranto. Tarantato that we saw dance here, no looking-glass or sword ; stamped, screeched, seemed to smile sometimes ; danced in a circle like the others. The Consul, &c. inform us that all spiders except the long-legged ones bite, causing the usual symptoms, though not so violent as the large ones in the country. He tells me the tarantula causes pain and blackness to a great space round the bite ; thinks there can be no deceit, the dancing is so laborious ; tells me they are feverish mad, and sometimes after dancing throw themselves into the sea, and would drown if not prevented ; that in case the tarantula be killed on biting, the patient dances but one year ; otherwise to the death of the tarantula. Ruins of old walls on the sea-shore, half a mile from modern Tarentum. Ruins of an amphitheatre (different from what we had elsewhere seen, as being without the passages) $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the town, between the foresaid ruins and the town. A mile from town the same way an old church and the grotto or subterraneous passage from the little sea to the gulf, built of huge stones. All spiders, except those with very long legs and those in houses, white and black. The taking of the tarantula out with a straw nothing singular, and done without whistling or spittle. Tarentum now in an island, with two bridges. Two old columns of Verde antico in the chapel. The ruins of the amphitheatre defaced by the friars, who have a convent there, and a garden in the amphitheatre. Medals and intaglios found here ; gold and silver, wrought and unwrought, found along the side of the little sea, which makes them believe the street of the goldsmiths' shops was there. Corn, wine, oil, fruits in abundance in the territory of Tarentum. Consul says the scorpion likewise causes dancing[1].

[1] Berkeley gives in a brief form information and quotations relative to Tarentum, now to be found in Cramer's *Italy*. He adds this note :—'Inhabitants of Taranto place their magazines of corn near the sea, which insinuates itself through, chiefly by the holes of the trabes, and sending in a moist vapour swells the corn to 43 increase in the 100 : to prevent its rotting by this moisture, they change it every 8 days from one magazine to another. The experiment easily made by weighing equal bulks of theirs and the peasants' corn just brought in. This affirmed by the Confessor to the Germans.'

[Taranto] May 31.

8+¼, set out from Tarentum. The ancient Tarentum on a tongue of land between two seas, same way by which we came towards Fagiano, a town of the Albanian colony. Left our last road on the left; olives and corn, and open corn-fields; wide green wavy pasture, large flock of black sheep. No mountains in the heel of Italy. Coarse pasture, open corn; all the way corn and pasture; open country; hills at our left distant, sea near our right. N.B. Mistake in the maps making the heel mountainous, there being nothing more than gentle hills or risings, and few of them. Dined with an Albanian priest at Fagiano, who treated us very civilly; he could give no account of the first settling that colony. The men, he said, had been formerly employed in some wars of Italy, and during their absence the women taking no care of their books, they were destroyed; so their MSS. histories and records perished. 1500 souls in Fagiano, all Albaneses, and speaking the Albanian tongue; their children learn the Italian at school. Fagiano a clean, irregular town; instead of our thatched cabins, small, square, flat-roofed, white houses. The priest told us the arm, e. g. being bitten by the tarantula swelled, confirmed, as indeed everybody, that common notion of the tarantula's death curing the bite. His house very neat. Everywhere great respect for a knowledge of the English, owing to our commerce, fleets, and armies. Ancient Greek chapel painted with barbarous figures, and inscriptions much defaced, in characters partly Greek and partly barbarous. This priest never drank wine except at the sacrament, having an antipathy to it. Beside Fagiano, La Rocca, S. Giorgio, and 3 or 4 more towns mostly Albanese, but Fagiano entirely. Bed of cuorioli, or broken shells of periwinkles, &c., along the shore of the small sea, used formerly, as they say, in dyeing purple; wool in the fish called baricella, of which stockings, waistcoats, &c., like silk, but stronger. A little fish in the shell with the baricella, which, standing on the top of the open broad shell (the lower end being shaped like a horn, and always stuck in the ground), sees the approaching porpoise, and retreating into the baricella,

gives him notice to shut his shell. Three or four drops of oil spilt on the sea enables fishers to see the bottom. Abbate Calvo said Count Thaun had given 40,000 pistoles for the continuation of his government the last year; a grain per rotolo tax on the beef; the butchers discount with the town-collectors by little bits of stamped lead given by the free persons for the tax of each rotolo. Two islands in the gulf that break the winds and make the harbour more secure. Taranto walled; a strong castle; soldiers 128.

[Taranto] June 1.

$1+\frac{1}{4}$, set out from Taranto over the other bridge. Corn, large grove of olives; corn mixed with olives, being great old trees, as indeed in every other grove; corn-fields; corn, apples, olives, pomegranates, and other fruit-trees; shrub and corn-fields; a forest $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile distant left; ridge of low fruitful hills or risings all the way about a mile and a half distant on our right. Town Matsafra on the side of the said ridge. The country we pass through plain, and though fruitful, hardly any houses to be seen. Dried pastures, unequal ground, being descent; a small vale, in which tufts of rushes, olives, figs, &c.; ascent, a small village on left; corn-fields planted with young olives in rows; long vineyards right and left, planted with figs and other fruit-trees; poor pasture; corn right, olives left; a great open country, not a perfect level, but nearly so, consisting of pasture, corn, and a vast large shrub of wild thyme, &c. $5+35'$, ground wavy; some corn amidst the shrub; rugged stony ground, hills and vales mostly covered with shrub. $7+32'$, out of the shrub; corn-fields, grove of olives; inequality of hill and dale; ground rocky; still olives, corn among the olives; quarry of white stone on the right, wide corn-field on left; road hewn through the rock; corn and olives on both sides; stone walls, beans. $8+10'$, Castalneta; the people drawn up in the street in lines to see us; the number of clergy or abbates besides the regulars; these loiter in the streets, particularly at Mandurium the Theatines. Letter to the Dominicans from a clergyman at Taranto; their inhospitality in refusing to lodge us; we are received at the Capucins; sit round their fire in the kitchen. Castalneta belongs to the Prince of

Acquaviva, of a Genoese family. A bishopric, 6000 souls; 3 convents of men and 2 of women; city dirty, and nothing remarkable in art, nature, or antiquity. Odd to find the fame of Whig and Tory spread so far as the inland parts of South Italy; and yet one of the most knowing fathers asked whether Ireland were a large town. [Library Scholastic, and some expositors with a few fathers in a small room. One or two Classics. They take it ill to be asked if they have any poets. In another convent, they said, 'What have we to do with Virgil? we want good sound books for disputing and preaching.' M.]

[Castalneta] June 2.

Set out at 7 + 12′, the friars in a body accompanying us to the gate of the convent. Land unequal; corn, vines, figs, almonds intermixed; corn, open country; large shrub to the left, pasture and few scattered fruit-trees to the right; shrub on right and left. 8 + 50′, get out of the great shrub into a spacious tract of wavy country, or distinguished by risings; in it not a tree in view; some corn, some shrub, much the greater part stony pasture; a small brook, no cattle nor houses, except one or two cottages, occur in this ample space; sheep feed here in winter, in summer in the Abruzzo, grass here being dried up in the summer, and a fresh crop in September; in the Abruzzo pinched with cold in the winter. These easy hills, or rather risings, and plains great mountains in the maps. This immense region to the right and left, à perte de vue, appears desert, not a man nor beast; those who own the sheep mentioned are men of the Abruzzo, many of them very rich, and drive a great trade, sending their wool to Manfredonia, and so by sea to Venice; their cheese to Naples and elsewhere up and down the kingdom; they nevertheless live meanly like other peasants, and many with bags of money shan't have a coat worth a groat; much cloth made at Venice. 10 + 40′, grass deeper, white, yellow, red, blue flowers mixed with it. 10 + 55′, vast opening before and on the right, on the left rocky hills; in all this vast tract not a tree or man or beast to be seen, and hardly 2 or 3 scattered poor houses; an infinite number of butterflies, and shrubs mixed with the pasture. 11 + 25′, rocky ground; opening

on right into a far extended green corn vale between green hills bearing corn to the very tops ; rocky hills left, stony ground, a vale before with corn and vines and a few trees. The hills round have corn, but no trees, except those on the right, which are barren and rocky, without either trees or corn ; pasture, wild corn, vines left ; corn right, vines left for a long space ; road cut through the rock. Inconveniently cold for several hours this morning ; ciceri, vines, corn ; great quarries in rocky hills on our left ; few figs on left, corn on right ; rocky ground ; vines right and left. Matera 1+30 ; archbishopric, souls 17,000 ; they seem to misreckon, being deceived by the figure of the town. Houses 10 one above another like seats in a theatre, built down the sides of an oval hole ; more men cannot stand on a mountain than on the under plain. Dined in a garden, offered by a farrier of the town as we were looking for a tree in the suburbs ; the man very civil and well-behaved, which is the general character. Guardian of the Franciscans' letter to Gravina ; he's displeased that we stayed not there in Matera, as Calvo had intimated in his letter to him. Nothing extraordinary in the buildings or churches; all these inland towns in our return inferior to those on the Adriatic. 6, set out from Matera ; vines, corn, walled gardens of fruit-trees, rocky road, wide opening descent, mostly high mountains at a distance on the left ; hills before ; pasture and corn ; hills and vales all green ; pasture, corn, shrub, the last but little and on the hills. Vines left, corn, pasture ; the same hilly country continued in the night ; a world of shining flies ; rocky hills. Lost our way ; arrived after much wandering afoot at a Franciscan convent without the walls of Gravina at 11 in the night, dark [1]. [Grana dat et vina Clara urbs Gravina inscribed over a gate of the town. M.] Last reckoning of the inhabitants 9850 ; walled town, duke's palace, bishopric, cathedral ; well paved with white marble ; situate among naked green hills ; 5 convents of men and 3 of women ; unhealthy air in wet weather. Duke a wretch ; princes obliged by del Caspio to give their own or the heads of the banditti with whom they went sharers. Priests count the number of their parishioners at Easter ; Bishop of

[1] Gravina, nearly forty miles south-west of Bari, on the river Gravina.

Gravina dead these two years, since which no bishop in the town, the Viceroy not admitting the person made bishop by the Pope, as being a foreigner. N.B. The Bishop of Matera 12,000 crowns a year; these bishops not so poor as commonly thought. In Matera and Gravina they make a distinction between nobile and cavaliere, the latter being esteemed the higher rank.

[Gravina] June 3.

Part from Gravina at 10; open green fields and hills mostly covered with corn backwarder than in the plain; corn the commodity of the country. Here and there rocky; rocky barren mountains about three miles distant on right; not a tree; some trees on our right thinly scattered; a small brook; pasture and little corn. 11, great scene opening, long chain of barren mountains distant about 3 miles on right; open pasture, not a tree, and pretty plain, wavy rather than hilly; few blue mountains distant on left; a little corn on the right, thistles left; for half an hour passed a green vale of pasture bounded with green risings right between our road and the stony mountains. 11+40, vast plain, corn, the greater part pasture between ridges of mountains; Apennine on the left, old Vultur on the right; hardly a house on the plain or hills; the Vultur near and is a stony barren mountain. 1+20, a deep vale, diversified with rising hills reaching to the mountains on left. 1+25, Poggio Ursini, where we dined; chaplain lent us his chamber in the Duke of Gravina's. Masseria, dirty; the Duke spends some time there in hunting. Tarantula not in this country; he hath seen several bitten with a black swoln mark as large as half-a-crown; they knew not they were bitten till dancing; tarantula bites only in the hot months; a peasant at Canosa laughed at their biting, and said he had often taken them in his hands. Duke of Gravina 30,000 ducats per annum feudo, and 30,000 negotio. Doors and entrances of the houses dirty and forbidding here and elsewhere, but otherwise at Lecce. 3+40, set out from Poggio Ursini along the same plain; pasture, corn; beans left, corn right. 4+10, descent into a vale; pasture left, meadow right with hay made; corn,

plain, pasture, and green hills on right and left. After a little straying, turn to the left and descend; tall thistles 5 foot high; corn in the vale; corn and pasture. 5, great length of corn along the bottom of the vale on the right, small hills and large spaces of rising ground well covered with corn and pasture. [N.B. Italians living in towns makes 'em polite; the contrary observable in the English. M.] Still between the mountains as before; ample space again; wood at a good distance on left, 2 of great length along the low mountains. 6+20, descend into a spacious plain (not a perfect plain, but rising lands and vales intermixed); corn, pasture, and wood; not a house in view this afternoon. 6+¾, Spennazzuola, a village belonging to the Duke of Calabretta, inhabitants about 3000; this seems too many for so small a place, and yet I was assured it by a priest of the town; 3 convents. Situate pleasantly, having on one side fine wood and hilly glens with trees and corn, on the other an open country, corn, and pasture; fleas innumerable.

[Spennazzuola] June 4.

Set out at 6+¾; open hills, corn, and pasture as before; corn. 7+¼, large space of ground, shrub thin, and pasture; forest trees on the right, ridge of woody mountains three miles on left; wide vale, shrub, and pasture opening to the left, displaying a delightful scene, a fruitful ridge of hills well wooded bounding the sight. 8, wood on right, and shrub succeeding. Lopalozzo, town on a pleasant hill on the left; fruitful pleasant plain between; over swelling hills and mountains on left; vale between gentle hills; pasture, corn, shrub; rising ground, corn, pasture and corn in a long vale on right, wood on the gentle hill that bounds it; rising land, pasture, shrub or copse; descent into an ample plain; corn, shrub, pasture advancing obliquely to the woody mountains, beyond which higher mountains; delightful small vale, environed with gentle hills most crowned with wood, a river, or rather rivulet, running through. 9+¼, ascent, little space, through a wood; rising open corn-field right, wood left; beyond the corn on right, pasture with cattle, and beyond that chain of fruitful hills; up and down through the skirts of a wood,

soil stiff reddish clay, glade opening to the fruitful hills on right. 9+40, large corn-field, bounded with gentle hills, a few scattered trees among the corn right, forest left; down a hill, at the bottom of which a rivulet, forest on both sides, long glade opening to the left bounded by the mountains. Left Acherontium, now Cirenza [1], on our left behind, on a mountain's top. 10+25, Brionre, a city on a mountain left, and Barial on the mountain side; large shrub, being the skirt of the forest; a large plain, shrub, pasture, much corn, in which Venosa. All this while advancing obliquely to the mountains on the left; glyn, large walnut-trees in the same descending road along the right side of it, bits of old walls on our right of the road; corn, vines, olives, &c. on the steep hills on either side; pass over a brook at bottom of our descent, which stony; stony ascent after the brook, grottos on the left; the same glyn, after turning, now on right. Arrived at Venosa [2] at 12. Poor ill-built town inhabited by peasants; souls 5000; bishopric; churches mean. Statue of Horace, being a sorry Gothic bust placed on the frieze of a pillar in the place. Horatius Flaccus by name well known to all the poor men of the town, who flocked about to tell us, on seeing us look at the statue; the men of this town in crowds gaping and following us about the town, the idlest canaille and most beggarly I have anywhere seen. Morsels of inscriptions in the walls, pieces of pillars and other ornaments of rich marble about the streets. Near the cathedral old brick walls shewn us for the house of Horace. 'This,' say they, 'we have by tradition.' By the fountain remains of 2 busts, with an inscription maimed underneath, beginning 'C. Tullio'; fine white marble lion at the same fountain. Two or three more monumental stones with maimed epitaphs in a row. Venosa belongs to the Prince of Torella. 3, set out from Venosa, which is situate on a rising ground in a vale between the horns of the Apennine (the horn on our left entering the town, low and fruitful, the Vultur anciently). Rising ground, descent; walnuts, pomegranates, olives, figs, vines, corn; ascent, fruit-trees on right and left, corn, and pasture, and wavy plain. 4, along a narrow road between hills, thicket on

[1] Acerenza. *Org.*

[2] Venosa (*Venusia*), the birthplace of Horace.

either side, vale; brook on our left; stony road ascending, coarse narrow vale on the right bounded by stony or rocky hills; narrow between hills, vale opening to the right, pasture, much corn, herd of swine. Leucrienna; small river on the right running through the vale; turn to the right through corn part ripe and part reaped; pass a stream; hills close on the left, vale with pasture and corn extended on the right. $6+\frac{1}{4}$, narrower between hills, presently large opening; ploughed land right, corn left; not a house this afternoon; wide vale opening to the right and left; old church; green hills left, partly covered with wood; corn reaped and ripe; two little houses near each other. River Aufidus in view on right, running so as to make oblique angles with our road; his banks deep and shore spacious, shewing him outrageous at certain times; his margin adorned with green trees. $7+\frac{1}{2}$, crossed Aufidus; steep ascent, then a spacious plain, corn; corn everywhere suffers for want of rain. Wide pasture after the corn; flock of sheep, black as usual; a straw cabin belonging to one of the Abruzzo shepherds; ascent, stony coarse pasture full of thistles; not a tree; pasture less stony. Cappella, small town on a rock distant 6 miles left; ample space of corn right and left. 9, ascend out of the vale. N.B. All this day environed by mountains. After our ascent through a difficult path, many ups and downs, stony, narrow and uneasy, among shrubby mountains, &c. on foot, we arrived in the night at an ample opening, much corn, and thence by an unequal stony road descended to the town of Ascoli, where we arrived at $10+\frac{1}{2}$[1]. While on foot in the dark, about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile before our chaises (which we had lost and sought crying), we passed by some country folks eating beans in a field, who kindly asked us to partake. Ascoli hath 500 friars; bishopric, 10,000 ducats; Duke of Ascoli residing there, 15,000 ducats per annum from tenants, besides 10,000 from negotio. Roman bricks and fragments in the walls of houses, several pieces of pillars, imperfect or defaced Roman inscriptions, grottos in the hill adjoining. Situation on a hill, environed mostly by a plain, corn and pasture; not a tree; hills on the left. Inhabitants are

[1] Ascoli *Asculum Picenum*, about fifteen miles west of the Adriatic, on the river Tronto, at the mouth of which is its harbour.

clergy and peasants. They boast of a saint's finger kept in a church of a convent on a hill overlooking the town, which, so far as the church is visible, prevents the bite of the tarantula. Convents in Ascoli 3; stone lions several here as at Venosa and Beneventum.

[Ascoli] June 5.

Set out from Ascoli at 7; descent, coarse pasture most, some corn left; plain, some corn, much pasture; plain, opening to the sea on right. $7+\frac{3}{4}$, bridge over the Carapella; Villa Cedri about 10 miles wide on left on a hill; ground dried and burnt like a turf. N.B. Mornings cold, afternoons hot; ascent, convent on right; soon after descent, some corn, most pasture, soil burnt black, road black like turf; large parched plain continues, bounded on each side by hills. $9+\frac{3}{4}$, ascent, then descent into a large vale; parched ground, grass and corn, large grove of wild pear-trees right. Troja, on a hill before us, ascent; large field of corn in a vale on right, better or less parched land than before. Troja left on our right about 6 miles. $10+\frac{3}{4}$, past a bridge over a perfectly dried stream; stony road through woods; out of the wood, hill covered with wood left, shrubby hills on right. 11+20, Ponte Bovino; set out from Ponte Bovino, or the Great Inn, at $2+\frac{3}{4}$. Stone road through the Apennine on the side of the Cerbalus, which runs through the bottom of the glyn on left; woody mountains right and left. Bovino, city on the mountain top left, the deep vale or glyn on left full of trees, spots of corn now and then, as well in the vale on left as on the mountain on right; between whiles delightful openings of cultivated land among; bridge. Bauro, town on the mountain left; long bridge over a glyn. Monte Leone, town on mountain right; another bridge, dry; river now and then shews itself; large fountain built of square stone, pleasant shading from either hand across the road. 6+20, the mountains sink on either side and the road opens, the wood decreasing; fields of shrub, and corn mixed therewith, on the sides of the mountain; flat slips of green corn along the bottom of the vale left; bridge; wood ends in shrub; pasture and corn-fields on a hill left. Savignano left, Greci right; both on points of hills. Out of the shrub

into an open hilly country, corn and pasture; bridge over a dry river, not a drop of water; country grows more plain, wavy corn country, not a house to be seen, hills fruitful. 10+½, Ariano; after several hours of windy rainy cold weather; forced to have a fire, being exceeding cold (not wet), the 5th of June, N. S.[1]

[Ariano] June 6.

8+25, left Ariano; descent, large prospect of fruitful low hills covered with corn and trees like England right and left. Grove left, delightful prospect of wide vale and chain of adverse hills fruitful. Furmini on a hill left; descent for some time past; rising hills fruitful, yielding view like the county of Armagh. Brook; Bonito on a fruitful hill right, the other brook or branch of Fumorella between Ariano and La Grotta. Wavy, hilly, open country; corn and grass, some hills (especially about La Grotta and on the sides at some distance) well planted with trees, others bare of trees; little shrub near La Grotta. La Grotta at 11; procession; peasants in fine clothes, host under canopy; firing guns, streamers and standards flourished; confraternities, clergy, &c.; red and blue petticoats, &c. hung out for arras. N.B. A procession in the same place before. Ascent between corn-fields, hills and vales thick scattered with trees; ascent through enclosed road, on both sides fine gentle hills covered with corn and adorned with trees; all this day cold, though wrapped in my cloak; foggy, mizzling, bleak weather, like that in Ireland; beans, corn; ascent all the way from La Grotta to Fricento[2]. Shrub and corn, long view of pleasant hills left, long grove of oaks on pleasant rising ground right; ample fields on gentle hills, fern, corn, oaks; deep glyn or vale full of trees left, another vale right; beans, corn, oaks scattered all about; most ample prospect, opening hills, partly wooded, partly naked; towns on points of hills, beautiful vales, elegant confusion, all this on looking to the north from a hill. [In a sanctuary on Monte Virgine are contained the bones of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. This in the famous monastery

[1] Ariano, a town in the Apennines to the east of Benevento.

[2] About forty miles north-east of Naples. Frigento. *Org.*

there resorted to for miracles, indulgences, and reliques numberless. M.] Stony road, corn, top of a hill covered with fern; short descent, corn. Jesualto in a vale right, vale of great extent running parallel to our road on right, and terminated on the other side by mountains finely wooded and thrown together. [Mons Tabor, anciently Mons Taburnus. M.] From Fricento (where we dined *sub dio* without the town, in the view of many people) we went down a descent of three miles, through wood, corn, and pasture, to the Amsancti lacus; triangular, whitish, stinking; about 40 paces about. Famiglietta threw in a dog, who, after half an hour, came out bones. Peasants find birds, hares, goats, wolves, &c. dead about it, and go to look for them in the mornings during summer: 5 years agone 2 men found dead. The water good for the itch, wounds, leprosy; cold; thrown a yard high; other the like lakes, but small; depth unfathomable. Silver all turned yellow, whereas Vesuvius and Solfatara turn black; oaks smell, being burnt. Small stream hard by the lake, of a like whitish water. Stone hollowed at one end, somewhat like a font, said to be a remain of the temple. N.B. Our entertainment at Famiglietta's, &c.

[Fricento] June 7.

Vale, and beyond that vale, craggy, high, green, shrubby mountain; open fields; woods; fields planted with trees around; Vesuvio; towns and white houses scattered on the hills to the right, with Mons Taburnus; Amsancti valles to the left—this on looking to the west. Pianura, Campi Taurasini[1], Benevento lontano; flat ploughed land, wood in the middle—north. Trevico right, Ariano left; sea between naked mountains thrown variously together; villages, ploughed land, and woods in the vale; Fiume Albi—east prospect. Amsancti valles; two fine woods; rising land between S. Angelo delli Longobardi right, and La Guardia delli Longobardi left; high mountains to the right and left, lower before—south. Six bishoprics and 2 archbishoprics; Taurasi and La Torella. Fricento belongs to the Principe della Torella; 25,000 souls [2500. M.]; July and ½ August without fires. An image

[1] ? See Smith's *Dict. of Ancient Geography*, art. 'Taurasia.'

on Monte Virgine protects the country about as far as visible from tarantulas, which, say they, are here likewise. Two bears slain last year in a neighbouring wood.

[Ponte Calore] June 8.

Set out from Fricento at 12; down hill; corn, pasture, open; a few scattered trees; shrub left, corn, deep vale right; before, a vast opening, vale between rising hills, green, yellow, red, different shades of; corn-fields, with woods and scattered trees; lost the way among beans and corn; got into the great road; descent; rising hills, corn, woods; fruit-trees and few vines on either side the road; adverse long hill or fruitful mountain on the other side the Calore; Monte Mileto and Monte Fusco in the same. 6, left Ponte Calore; passed the river, which in Italy is large enough; ascent up a paved road; corn, pasture, trees; various rising ground. Monte Mileto left, on a hill covered with wood; vines twining round trees left, corn and trees right; vines hanging in festoons from tree to tree; Monte Fusco right; very good made road; immense prospect of vale and hills right, part wooded, part not. This view seen to advantage from Monte Fusco and Monte Mileto; our road like lightning. 8, got to the top, whence a new extended scene discovered of vales and hills covered with wood, likewise of high mountains, and several towns scattered on the sides and tops of hills; country beautiful, fruitful, various, populous; very many new towns in delightful situations, some on the points of hills, others hanging on precipices, some on gentle slopes, &c. Double most noble scene (just described both) seen from Monte Fusco, lying to the eastward and westward; highest mountains right and left, covered with trees. Ponte del Prato; large bridge, hardly a drop of water under it; hills and vales all round, richly covered with trees, as well fruit as others, and vines and spots of corn; another bridge over a valley for the convenience of travelling. Prato, a town right; ascent; descent; long bridge over a valley; cross a bridge over the Sabato, 4 miles before we reach Avellino; shining flies. From Sabato we pass along an enclosed level road to Avellino, where we arrived at $10+\frac{1}{2}$[1]. Avellino reckons (I doubt

[1] Avellino, nearly thirty miles from Naples.

misreckons) 30,000. 'Tis an open, handsome town, situate in a vale among high mountains covered with wood. Fountain and town-house adorned with busts and statues handsome enough. N.B. Best inn I met with in the kingdom here.

[Avellino to Naples] June 9.

Set out from Avellino at 6 + 50; a tall avenue of elms; grove of hazels (much esteemed here) on each side the road, and vines in festoons from pole to pole among the nuts on left; avenue ends, being a mile long. All this way on right and left high hills covered thick with trees, chesnut or continued forest; large walnuts on the wayside; grapes in festoons on both sides. 8 + ¼, hazels end. 8 + 20, pass through Monteforte, a small town; ascent; descent; stony unequal road, between mountains covered with chesnuts close on either side; hazels, walnuts, chesnuts all the way; vines in festoons; large cherries, great number of trees thick laden with them all along the road; hill on left almost naked, having only the stumps of trees; bridge. Pass through a village; vineyards in festoons right and left; village; vines and fruit-trees; another village; figs, cherries, vines, &c. right and left; village. 11 + ½, vineyards right and left; olives and vines left, vines right. (N.B. Corn, hemp, &c. among the vines for the most part.) Vineyards right and left. 1, Nola; souls, 3000; 7 convents men, 5 women.

POLLIO JULIO CLEMENTIANO, SUBVENTORI CIVIUM, NECESSITATIS AURARIÆ DEFENSORI, LIBERTATIS REDONATORI, VIÆ POPULI OMNIUM MUNERUM RECREATORI, UNIVERSA REGIO ROMANA PATRONO PRÆSTANTISSIMO STATUAM COLLOCAVIT[1].

First inscription under a statue in the court of a private house; 2 other inscriptions under 2 of the 4 statues

[1] Berkeley has here roughly copied two other inscriptions, printed in *C. I. L.* vol. X:—

FISIÆ SEX. F. RUFINÆ SORORI FISI SERENI AUG. LARUM MINISTRI. L.D. D.D.

VICTORIÆ AUG. AUGUSTALES.

ancient in the place before the cathedral; one of the remaining two is of the same Pollius, the inscription of the other is defaced. The Bell. Bishop 4000 crowns, out of which pension 2000. Left Nola at $3+\frac{3}{4}$[1]. 'Thisus Alus Cujus, &c.' [*sic* in MS.] over the Jesuits' gate along the façade of the convent; apples, plums, cherries; pears, apricots, vines, corn on each side the road. $4+\frac{1}{4}$, festoon vineyards right and left, also corn; Campagna between mountains; Vesuvius left. $5+\frac{3}{4}$, a village; still festoon vineyards, elms, corn right and left, but no mountains, at least none in view. $6+5$, village. $6+\frac{3}{4}$, village. N.B. The greatest part of this afternoon vines round elms without festoons. 8, Naples.

[The following letter from Berkeley to Arbuthnot, communicated by Arbuthnot to the Royal Society, and contained in the *Philosophical Transactions* for October, 1717, may be introduced here as relevant to the *Journal* at this point. It consists of observations on an eruption of Vesuvius which he saw, partly when he was in Naples in April and the beginning of May, and in later outbreaks after his return from Calabria on June 9.

'Extract of a letter from Mr. Edw. [George] Berkeley, giving several curious Observations and Remarks on the eruption of Fire and Smoke from Mount Vesuvio. Communicated by John Arbuthnot, M.D., R.S.S.:—

'*April* 17, 1717.

'With much difficulty I reached the top of Mount Vesuvius, in which I saw a vast aperture full of smoke, which hindered the seeing its depth and figure. I heard within that horrid gulf certain odd sounds, which seemed to proceed from the belly of the mountain; a sort of murmuring, sighing, throbbing, churning, dashing (as it were) of waves, and between whiles a noise, like that of thunder or cannon, which was constantly attended with a clattering like that of tiles falling from the tops of houses on the streets. Sometimes, as the wind changed, the smoke grew thinner, discovering a very ruddy flame, and the jaws of the pan or *crater* streaked with red and

[1] Nola is about fourteen miles from Naples, which the travellers reached on the evening of June 9.

several shades of yellow. After an hour's stay, the smoke, being moved by the wind, gave us short and partial prospects of the great hollow, in the flat bottom of which I could discern two furnaces almost contiguous: that on the left, seeming about three yards in diameter, glowed with red flame, and threw up red-hot stones with a hideous noise, which, as they fell back, caused the fore-mentioned clattering. May 8, in the morning, I ascended to the top of Vesuvius a second time, and found a different face of things. The smoke ascending upright gave a full prospect of the crater, which, as I could judge, is about a mile in circumference, and an hundred yards deep. A conical mount had been formed since my last visit, in the middle of the bottom: this mount, I could see, was made of the stones thrown up and fallen back again into the crater. In this new hill remained the two mounts or furnaces already mentioned: that on our left was in the vertex of the hill which it had formed round it, and raged more violently than before, throwing up, every three or four minutes, with a dreadful bellowing, a vast number of red-hot stones, sometimes in appearance above a thousand, and at least three thousand feet higher than my head as I stood upon the brink: but, there being little or no wind, they fell back perpendicularly into the crater, increasing the conical hill. The other mouth to the right was lower in the side of the same new-formed hill. I could discern it to be filled with red-hot liquid matter, like that in the furnace of a glass-house, which raged and wrought as the waves of the sea, causing a short abrupt noise like what may be imagined to proceed from a sea of quicksilver dashing among uneven rocks. This stuff would sometimes spew over and run down the convex side of the conical hill; and appearing at first red-hot, it changed colour, and hardened as it cooled, shewing the first rudiments of an eruption, or, if I may say so, an eruption in miniature. Had the wind driven in our faces, we had been in no small danger of stifling by the sulphureous smoke, or being knocked on the head by lumps of molten minerals, which we saw had sometimes fallen on the brink of the crater, upon those shots from the gulf at the bottom. But, as the wind was favourable, I had an opportunity to survey this odd scene for above an hour and a half together; during

which it was very observable that all the volleys of smoke, flame, and burning stones, came only out of the hole to our left, while the liquid stuff in the other mouth wrought and overflowed, as hath been already described.—June 5th, after an horrid noise, the mountain was seen at Naples to spew a little out of the crater. The same continued the 6th. The 7th, nothing was observed till within two hours of night, when it began a hideous bellowing, which continued all that night and the next day till noon, causing the windows, and, as some affirm, the very houses in Naples to shake. From that time it spewed vast quantities of molten stuff to the south, which streamed down the mountain like a great pot boiling over. This evening I returned from a voyage through Apulia, and was surprised, passing by the north side of the mountain, to see a great quantity of ruddy smoke lie along a huge tract of sky over the river of molten stuff, which was itself out of sight. The 9th, Vesuvius raged less violently: that night we saw from Naples a column of fire shoot between whiles out of its summit. The 10th, when we thought all would have been over, the mountain grew very outrageous again, roaring and groaning most dreadfully. You cannot form a juster idea of this noise in the most violent fits of it, than by imagining a mixed sound made up of the raging of a tempest, the murmur of a troubled sea, and the roaring of thunder and artillery, confused all together. It was very terrible as we heard it in the further end of Naples, at the distance of above twelve miles: this moved my curiosity to approach the mountain. Three or four of us got into a boat, and were set ashore at *Torre del Greco*, a town situate at the foot of Vesuvius to the south-west, whence we rode four or five miles before we came to the burning river, which was about midnight. The roaring of the volcano grew exceeding loud and horrible as we approached. I observed a mixture of colours in the cloud over the crater, green, yellow, red, and blue; there was likewise a ruddy dismal light in the air over that tract of land where the burning river flowed; ashes continually showered on us all the way from the sea-coast: all which circumstances, set off and augmented by the horror and silence of the night, made a scene the most uncommon and astonishing I ever saw, which grew still more extraordinary

as we came nearer the stream. Imagine a vast torrent of liquid fire rolling from the top down the side of the mountain, and with irresistible fury bearing down and consuming vines, olives, fig-trees, houses; in a word, every thing that stood in its way. This mighty flood divided into different channels, according to the inequalities of the mountain: the largest stream seemed half a mile broad at least, and five miles long. The nature and consistence of these burning torrents hath been described with so much exactness and truth by Borellus in his Latin treatise of Mount Ætna, that I need say nothing of it. I walked so far before my companions up the mountain, along the side of the river of fire, that I was obliged to retire in great haste, the sulphureous stream having surprised me, and almost taken away my breath. During our return, which was about three o'clock in the morning, we constantly heard the murmur and groaning of the mountain, which between whiles would burst out into louder peals, throwing up huge spouts of fire and burning stones, which falling down again, resembled the stars in our rockets. Sometimes I observed two, at others three, distinct columns of flames; and sometimes one vast one that seemed to fill the whole crater. These burning columns and the fiery stones seemed to be shot 1000 feet perpendicular above the summit of the volcano. The 11th, at night, I observed it, from a terrass in Naples, to throw up incessantly a vast body of fire, and great stones to a surprising height. The 12th, in the morning, it darkened the sun with ashes and smoke, causing a sort of eclipse. Horrid bellowings, this and the foregoing day, were heard at Naples, whither part of the ashes also reached. At night I observed it throwing up flame, as on the 11th. On the 13th, the wind changing, we saw a pillar of black smoke shot upright to a prodigious height. At night I observed the mount cast up fire as before, though not so distinctly, because of the smoke. The 14th, a thick black cloud hid the mountain from Naples. The 15th, in the morning, the court and walls of our house in Naples were covered with ashes. The 16th, the smoke was driven by a westerly wind from the town to the opposite side of the mountain. The 17th, the smoke appeared much diminished, fat and greasy. The 18th, the whole appearance ended;

the mountain remaining perfectly quiet without any visible smoke or flame. A gentleman of my acquaintance, whose window looked towards Vesuvius, assured me that he observed several flashes, as it were of lightning, issue out of the mouth of the volcano. It is not worth while to trouble you with the conjectures I have formed concerning the cause of these phænomena, from what I observed in the *Lacus Amsancti*, the *Solfatara*, &c., as well as in Mount Vesuvius. One thing I may venture to say, that I saw the fluid matter rise out of the centre of the bottom of the crater, out of the very middle of the mountain, contrary to what Borellus imagines; whose method of explaining the eruption of a volcano by an inflexed syphon and the rules of hydrostatics, is likewise inconsistent with the torrent's flowing down from the very vertex of the mountain. I have not seen the crater since the eruption, but design to visit it again before I leave Naples. I doubt there is nothing in this worth shewing the Society: as to that, you will use your discretion.

E. (it should be G.) BERKELEY.']

Road from Rome to Naples.

1st post 6 miles, through the flat campagna; some hay and corn; not a tree; hardly a cottage.

2nd post to Marino, 6 miles through the like flat campagna, though ascending insensibly towards Marino, which is a pretty, clean village, belonging to the Constable Colonna.

3rd post 9 miles, to Veletri. About 2 miles after Marino, pass by the lake of Castel Gondolfo on our right; view of Castel Gondolfo; land pretty well tilled in the beginning of this post. Within 3 miles of Veletri, steep descent to that city. This post over and among hills and woods.

4th post 8 miles and ½. First mile and ½ through enclosures and trees; 7 last through rising ground, being spacious, open, green corn-fields. Cisterna, seat of the Prince of Caserta.

5th post 7 miles from Cisterna, the better part through a forest with deer, belonging to the Prince.

6th post 8 miles from Sermeneta, lying through the Campagna. A mile and ½ on the other side Sermeneta attacked for a giulio. N.B. The Campagna green, and in many parts woody, flat, and marshy; no houses; hardly any corn; no cattle, but a few buffaloes.

7th post to Piperno, seven miles. Near a mile in the Campagna di Roma; the other 6 among hills and fruitful vales. Piperno situate on a hill.

8th post 8 miles: 2 first among wood and hills; 6 last through a plain champaign, mostly uninhabited, &c.

9th post to Terracina, 8 miles, along the side of shrubby, stony hills on left. Some ruins, seeming of sepulchres, on the road; on the right Monte Circello in view. All this post on right marshy low ground, little cultivated or inhabited.

10th post to Fondi, 10 miles. Limits of the kingdom entered within 6 miles of Fondi. Near 2 miles beyond the boundaries passed on our left a sepulchre of huge square stones, very noble and entire, now turned into a stable for asses; no inscription. The 2 first miles of this post close along the sea, being edged on the left by mountains; many broken rocks as fallen in an earthquake on the road; about 5 miles further having woody and stony hills on left close, and at small distance on right the Palus Pomptina; land flat, marshy, hardly inhabited for the illness of the air. 3 last miles through a fruitful plane; oranges, &c. before we reached Fondi. A small river seemed to render it marshy and unwholesome, flowing by the city on the side towards Rome.

11th post from Fondi to Itri, 7 miles. First 3 or 4 miles over a plain, gently ascending, planted with cypress, orange, and lemon trees near the town of Fondi; last 3 miles between and over hills on the Appian Way: these hills extend across to the sea.

12th post from Itri to Mola, 5 miles. Itri a town poor and dirty, but pretty large. This post enclosed between hills right and left; many olives, almost all on the Appian Way.

13th post from Mola to the Garigliano, 8 miles. A large grove of olives, after which near 4 miles stony, unequal, shrubby ground; 4 miles more, fine corn country, meadows also pleasant, and scattered trees in sight. Near the

Garigliano we passed between an old aqueduct on the left and certain large ruins on the right, as of an amphitheatre. This post we had the mountains near us on left and sea on the right. Divers ruins, as seeming of sepulchres, this post on the road side. Greater part of this post on the Appian Way, whereof fragments appear entire, and ending abruptly, as if part had been cut off or taken away. Liris larger than the Vulturnus. N.B. Treeto on a hill on the other side the aqueduct.

14th post from Garigliano to S. Agata, 10 miles. Ferry over the river; open, large, flat, pleasant meadows along the Liris, which flowed on our left; after which, chain of mountains on our right; country unequal, with pleasant risings; within 4 miles of S. Agata country thick planted with vines and olives, especially the latter, of which a perfect wood near S. Agata. N.B. Sessa fine town within less than a mile of S. Agata. Henceforward to Naples the Campania felix, which begins either at the river Liris, or on the other side Sessa, the ancient Suessa Aurunca.

15th post from S. Agata, 10 miles. 2 first miles through a country thick set with vines, olives, &c., in which the Appian Way, no more of which to Naples; hills these two miles on left and right; at the end of these two miles a village, [Cassano] where the left view of the Appian road. After this village a hilly country, and great part of the road cut through a rock; then a wood of oaks, cypress, &c.; after which delicious country like the following post.

16th post 9 miles to Capoa, through delicious green fields, plain and spacious, adorned with fruit-trees and oaks so scattered and disposed as to make a most delightful landscape, much corn and fruit, many white country houses beautifying the prospect; mountains on our left.

[1] Terra di Lavoro, 56,990, besides Naples, its casali, and

[1] The following notes are on the opposite page:—

(1) Principato citra, all Picenza [*Picentia* on the coast] with part of Lucania and Campania felix: its metropolis Salerno. Cities 18, whereof Salerno and Amalfi are A.B^{ps}, the rest B^{ps}. Grain and wine plenty.

(2) Principato Ulteriore, provincia Hirpina, with a small part of the land of the Samnites and Campanians; of 13 cities, 2, i. e. Beneventum and Conza, AB^{ps}, the rest B^{ps}. Wine, chesnuts, hunting, fishing.

about ½ a dozen more from towns whose fuochi [1] are not numbered.

	Fuochi.		Fuochi.
Aversa	1905	Fundi	188
Capua and casali	5343	Itri	440
Caserta and casali	1184	Madaluni	749

Principato citra Salerno.

	Fuochi.		Fuochi.
Auletta	119	Salerno	1636
Eboli	355	Scafati	68
Nocera di Pagani	536	Vietri	185

Principato ultra.

	Fuochi.		Fuochi.
Ariano	749	Fricento	88
Avellino	600		

Basilicata.

	Fuochi.		Fuochi.
Lago Negro	570	Venosa	473
Spennazzuola	491	Matera	2027

Calabria bassa ó citra.

	Fuochi.		Fuochi.
Castro Villari	183	Tarsia	37
Cosenza	1854	Terranuova	168
Cassano	284		

Calabria alta ó ultra.

	Fuochi.		Fuochi.
Catanzaro	2651	Monteleone	1793
Cotronei	60	Pizzo	442
Cotrone	446	Rosarno	379
Isola	112	Seminara	945

Terra d'Otranto.

	Fuochi.		Fuochi.
Brindisi	1428	Fagiano	123
Castellaneta	691	Lecce	3300
Casalnovo	1002	Taranto	1870

[1] i. e. *families.*

Terra di Bari.

	Fuochi.		Fuochi.
Bari	2345R	Monopoli	1864R
Barletta	1735R	Molfetta	1247
Canosa	269	Mola	1436
Gravina	1916	Trani	787
Giovenazzo	628	Visceglia alias Biseglia	1692

Capitanata (Lucera).

Ascoli . . . . . 381.

In the Kingdom of Naples—

Princes	128	Counts	24
Dukes	200	Archbishops	21
Marquesses	200	Bishops	127

N.B. Reckoning the eldest sons and double titles.

Gran corte della Vicaria, supreme court like (somewhat) to our King's Bench. Governed by the Regent of the Vicaria a Cavaliere, who therefore is assisted by judges civil and criminal.

The great officers have the precedence, title, and stipend due to their places, but their power is exercised by the King; that of the Great Constable (i. e. Captain General) by the generals, colonels, capitani d'armi, &c.; that of the Gran Giustitiere by the Regent of the Vicaria; and in like sort of the rest.

Collaterale is the supreme royal tribunal, composed of the seven great officers, the Consiglieri di Stato and the Regenti, or of the 7 officers and Regenti della Cancellaria. This hath supreme power in making laws, punishing magistrates, commerce, &c.

Sacro Consiglio, consisting of President and Counsellors. Anciently the kings of Naples appointed judges of appeal from the Vicaria and other tribunals. But Alfonsus the First of Arragon took away those judges, constituting this Sacro Consiglio di Giustitia to judge of appeals from all parts of the kingdom. Not only causes of appeal, but likewise first causes are determined by them, for which the President delegates such Counsellors to judge as he pleases. Their sentences are given in the King's name.

Regia Camera, which takes cognisance of the royal

income or patrimony (as they call it), i. e. taxes, customs, &c.; in a word, all that belongs to the Exchequer.

Gran corte della Vicaria, above explained, but this its place.

So much from Capaccio; what follows next from Pacichelli and others.

1mo. Tribunale is the Consiglio di Stato, consisting of such persons as Viceroy pleases: a sort of Cabinet.

2o. Tribunale is the Collaterale, consisting of six regents of the Cancellaria, who have great power, or rather sovereign, in the management of affairs relating to civil institutions, commerce, &c.

3o. Il Sacro Consiglio, un Presidente con Ventiquattro Consiglieri, hears appeals, and also first causes: acts in the King's name.

4o. La Regia Camera detta la Sommaria ha per capo il gran Camerlengo ma esercita la Giurisdittione per un Luogotenente scelto dal Rè. Under him are 8 presidents, doctors, and 3 presidents [?], idiots' advocate, procurator fiscal, secretario, registers, accountants, clerks, &c., qui si maneggia il patrimonio reale, &c., si affitton gabelle, &c.

La gran Corte della Vicaria si amministra da un Luogotenente che si elegge ogni due anni dal Vicerè detto Regente. This court is divided into the two udienze, civile e criminale, 6 judges to each.

Divers other tribunals, as that of S. Lorenzo, governed by the eletti, 7 in number, but with 6 votes, one being chosen out of and for each Seggio, except that of Montagna, which chooses two, one for itself, and one for Porcella a Seggio incorporated with it, but they have only one voice.

N.B. The eletto del popolo is thus chosen:—Every ottina (of which there be 29, into which the whole city is divided, being the same with regions or wards) nameth two persons, which making in number 58, these assemble, and with the Secretary of the Piazza del Popolo form Revisori delli voti; after which every of the 58 names being eletto, which is often done with malediction and invective scurrilous, si bossolano e si notano i voti and the six with most votes are written in a note and carried to the Viceroy (by 8 persons chosen by ballot out of the 58), who names which he pleases for eletto. The 58 likewise name a council of ten persons to assist their

eletto. Every ottina likewise names 6 persons, whereof the Viceroy chooseth one for capitano of that ottina, who is a sort of justice of peace, taking care that no one offends or is offended in his ottina, take care of the poor, &c.; great power commanding so great a people.

Capitani and eletti del popolo govern as long as the Viceroy or the Piazza pleases, but ordinarily for 6 months.

The power of the Tribunal of the eletti extends to setting a price on the annona; take care also of the health, for which they appoint two deputies, one a noble the other a plebeian, who govern a felucca that visits all ships, boats, &c., and sees that nothing contagious enters the city. The eletti themselves pay a salary to these, and give out patents for ships parting from Naples, as likewise pay the man who watches to see the quarantine duly performed and goods aired.

The Grassiero is a huomo Regio, or magistrate appointed by the King. He was first joined to the council of the eletti in A. D. 1562, in the time of the Viceroy Don Perafan di Ribera, Duke d' Alcalà, under the pretext only of providing the city with corn, but by little and little hath crept into all business, and now in fact is president of the Tribunal of the eletti, who can do nothing without him.

Divers other tribunals or courts of lesser note, as la Zecca Regia per Pesi e Misure, per li Notari, per Dottori in Legge e Medicina, &c., &c.

A parliament or deputation of 24 persons, 12 deputati del Baronaggio and 12 della città di Napoli, give a donative, for which effect [they] use to be assembled by King's letter every 2 years. The city pays no part of these donatives, yet the deputies of the city are the first to vote and subscribe, and have precedence in all cases, but with this difference, that the city hath but one vote and the Baronaggio 12, 6 titolatos and 6 plain barons. Their use the Donative. These deputies or parliament meet in the convent of S. Lorenzo; the Viceroy at the opening goes to hear read the King's letter before the parliament by the Secretary of State, and at the close goes to receive their compliance with it.

Giulio Cesare Capaccio assures us that in his time the garden herbs eaten every month amounted to 30,000 ducats in the city of Naples; likewise that the gabella on

fruit (it not being ½ of a farthing per pound of our measure and money) amounted or (which is more) was set for 80,000 ducats per annum, exclusive of oranges, lemons, bergamots, and the like.

Four castles in Naples to protect and bridle the city:— Castel St. Elmo, Castel Nuovo, Castel dell' Ovo, and Il Torrione del Carmine.

Si ricavavano prima dal regno 5 milioni e più di rendita, oggi però se ne ritrahe da due millioni in circa. Paichello, published 1703.

The nobility of the several parts or districts of the city of Naples were used anciently to assemble in certain public places or piazzas in each district, where they conversed together. These places being much frequented, they came to build certain open porticos, sustained by arches and railed round, where they met together, which in process were improved and beautified in imitation of the portici of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and separated or appropriated to those families that used to assemble in them; and from being places of mere chat or conversation, grew to be so many courts, in which they considered and debated on choosing magistrates and providing for the health and plenty of the city. N.B. The Seggios are five, viz. il Seggio di Capoana, di Nido, di Montagna, di Porto, di Porta nuova.

Lac Virginis in Ecclesia S. Ludovici apud P.P. minimos S^ti^ Francisci a Paulo asservatum liquefit quolibet assumptionis die.

Sanguis Johannis Baptistæ liquefit quotidie in ecclesiâ quâdam Neapoli prout mihi referebat Dux quidam Neapolitanus.

Sbirri 150 tyrannised the island of Ischia[1] cruelly, on

[1] In what follows he passes from Naples to the Island of Ischia or Inarime (*Ænaria*), at the north-west extremity of the Bay of Naples. It is described by Berkeley to the poet Pope in the following interesting letter, on which the jottings that follow may be regarded as annotations:—

'Naples, October 22, N.S., 1717.

'I have long had it in my thoughts to trouble you with a letter, but was discouraged for want of something that I could think worth sending fifteen hundred miles. Italy is such an exhausted subject that, I dare say, you'd easily forgive my saying nothing of it; and the imagination of a poet is a thing so nice and delicate that it is no easy matter to find out images capable of giving pleasure to one

account of seven persons who had slain one of their number. The relatives to the number of 100 taken up and imprisoned at Ischia; general orders that no one

of the few, who (in any age) have come up to that character. I am nevertheless lately returned from an island where I passed three or four months; which, were it set out in its true colours, might, methinks, amuse you agreeably enough for a minute or two.

'The island Inarime is an epitome of the whole earth, containing within the compass of eighteen miles, a wonderful variety of hills, vales, ragged rocks, fruitful plains, and barren mountains, all thrown together in a most romantic confusion. The air is in the hottest season constantly refreshed by cool breezes from the sea. The vales produce excellent wheat and Indian corn, but are mostly covered with vineyards intermixed with fruit-trees. Besides the common kinds, as cherries, apricots, peaches, &c., they produce oranges, limes, almonds, pomegranate, figs, water-melons, and many other fruits unknown to our climate, which lie everywhere open to the passenger. The hills are the greater part covered to the top with vines, some with chesnut groves, and others with thickets of myrtle and lentiscus. The fields in the northern side are divided by hedgerows of myrtle. Several fountains and rivulets add to the beauty of this landscape, which is likewise set off by the variety of some barren spots and naked rocks. But that which crowns the scene, is a large mountain rising out of the middle of the island, once a terrible volcano, by the ancients called Mons Epomeus). Its lower parts are adorned with vines and other fruits; the middle affords pasture to flocks of goats and sheep; and the top is a sandy pointed rock, from which you have the finest prospect in the world, surveying at one view, besides several pleasant islands lying at your feet, a tract of Italy about three hundred miles in length, from the promontory of Antium to the Cape of Palinurus: the greater part of which hath been sung by Homer and Virgil, as making a considerable part of the travels and adventures of their two heroes. The islands Caprea, Prochyta, and Parthenope, together with Cajeta, Cumæ, Monte Miseno, the habitations of Circe, the Syrens, and the Læstrigones, the bay of Naples, the promontory of Minerva, and the whole Campagna felice, make but a part of this noble landscape; which would demand an imagination as warm and numbers as flowing as your own, to describe it. The inhabitants of this delicious isle, as they are without riches and honours, so are they without the vices and follies that attend them; and were they but as much strangers to revenge as they are to avarice and ambition, they might in fact answer the poetical notions of the golden age. But they have got, as an alloy to their happiness, an ill habit of murdering one another on slight offences*. We had an instance of this the second night after our arrival, a youth of eighteen being shot

* Berkeley mentions 'the ugly habit of the Ischians of murdering one another for trifles' in a letter to Percival, dated 'Testaccio in Inarime, September, 1717.'

remain in their houses in the country, all with their goods being obliged to repair to the towns; people met in the masserias beaten unmercifully. Fear and trembling, and no going to do their business in their vineyards for 10 days, then allowed to return, some to their houses, others not. Cellars of wine throughout the island all this while left wide open at the mercy of the Sbirri. Relations of the banditti seized in the churches. Some few of the prisoners allowed the liberty of walking about the fortress. The prisoners most part poor old women, the men absconding and lying out of their houses in the woods for fear. Commissario della Campagna, with his Sbirri, continued about a month at Ischia. The inhabitants may kill one another without fear of punishment, this rout being never made but for the death of a Sbirro. We were alarmed and roused out of our beds by 35 Sbirri one night.

The people of this island in other respects good enough, but bloodthirsty and revengeful. Those of Foria and Moropane of worst fame for murdering, being said by the rest of the island to have no fear of God or man.

The habit of the Ischiots: a blue skull-cap, woollen; a shirt and pair of drawers; in cold weather, doublet and breeches of wool. They wear each by his side a broad

dead by our door: and yet by the sole secret of minding our own business, we found a means of living securely among those dangerous people.

'Would you know how we pass the time at Naples? Our chief entertainment is the devotion of our neighbours. Besides the gaiety of their churches (where folks go to see what they call *una bella Devotione*, i. e. a sort of religious opera), they make fireworks almost every week out of devotion; the streets are often hung with arras out of devotion; and (what is still more strange) the ladies invite gentlemen to their houses, and treat them with music and sweetmeats, out of devotion: in a word, were it not for this devotion of its inhabitants, Naples would have little else to recommend it beside the air and situation.

'Learning is in no very thriving state here, as indeed nowhere else in Italy; however, among many pretenders, some men of taste are to be met with. A friend of mine told me not long since that, being to visit Salvini * at Florence, he found him reading your Homer: he liked the notes extremely, and could find no other fault with the version, but that he thought it approached too near a paraphrase; which shews him not to be sufficiently acquainted with our language. I wish you health to go on with that noble work; and when you have that, I need not wish you success.'

* Salvini translated Addison's *Cato*.

pruning-knife, crooked at the end, with which they frequently wound and kill one another.

Piano now Pieio, Casa Nizzola now Casamici, Fiorio now Foria.

A fine plain all round Pieio, planted with vines, corn, and fruit-trees.

The amphitheatre about a mile and half round the top, whence on all sides a shelving bank descends to the flat bottom, the which bank clothed with oaks. Oaks, elms, chesnuts, and cupe [cypress?] in this island. East of the amphitheatre (which is called La Vataliera vulgarly) is a village called Cumana, and beneath a shady valley called Il Vallone Cumano, between that village (seated on a mountain called Il Monte di Borano) and a high mountain called La Montagna di Vezzi.

Pleasant vineyards overlooking Ischia on the middle between the two towns.

On the north side of the Cremate, about 2 mile long and 1 broad, fine hills covered with myrtle and lentiscus; vales too among them, and towards the sea fruitful with vines, &c. Hereabouts Pontanus formerly had a villa. Onwards to the north-west you pass through roads planted with myrtle, &c., vineyards, and little inequalities of hill, vale, wood, shrub, &c. to the lake, about a mile round, on the border of which the Bagno di Fontana.

Vistas in the island very various, as sometimes in a plain thick planted with trees and vines, obstructing a distant view; at other times a patent prospect in a vale environed with fruitful hills, on which white houses scattered. Borano with its steeple makes a pretty prospect, being situate on a hill. Sometimes a deep road with high banks on either side, very refreshing in the heats; sometimes deep and tremendous precipices, many round hills gently rising, covered to the top with vines; sometimes horrid rocks and grottos, and clefts in the earth with bridges over them in some places.

The bath Ulmitello lies to the south part of the island in a deep cleft between rocks, which opens into the strand of the sea; it is a well or two without buildings.

South of Testaccio there is a strange confusion of rocks, hills, vales, clefts, plains, and vineyards one above another, jumbled together in a very singular and romantic manner.

North or north-west stands the Sudatorio di Castiglione in the side of a rock, on which Jasolino tells you may be seen the ruins of a castle since the days of Hiero. I saw some ruins of an old wall, but nothing that looked like Greek or Roman work, the stones and cement being but rude. I saw likewise the ruins of a piscina, or receptacle for water, well plastered. Between this rock and the sea, in the vale, lies Casa Cumana, a small village where Jasolin thinks the Eubœans first inhabited. Near the sea-shore, likewise in the vale, I saw the Bagno di Castiglione.

Two eletti in the city of Ischia officers of the city supreme. When they go out of office they name each two candidates, out of which the eletti del popolo for next year are chosen by the parlamento, consisting of twenty persons, 10 countrymen, ten citizens, the which parliament is new made reciprocally by the eletti as soon as they come into employment. This parliament consults of things relating to the well governing the town, assessing taxes, &c. In Foria they have a syndic for supreme magistrate, likewise chosen by the people; there is another syndic between Borano and Fontana, one year in Borano, and names a deputato to govern in Fontana, and *vice versa*. This magistrate sets prices on meat, bread, corn, wine, &c. Catapani are inferior officers that go about the shops inspecting bread, wine, measures, &c. So far Signor Giam. Battista.

Jachino and Aniele say that once only in three years the syndic is in each of the 3 following towns—Fontana, Borano, Casamici, the syndic sending two deputati to the other places. Twenty men constitute the senate of each of these 3 towns, and Foria, which hath constantly its own syndic. These all vote for the eletti of Ischia, who (if I mistake not) reciprocally make the syndics.

Several gentlemen of Ischia taken up and sent, some to be imprisoned at Naples, others at Surrento, others at Caprea, at the same time that near 200 were imprisoned as relations of the banditti in the castle of Ischia. These gentlemen were taken up on suspicion of having favoured somehow the flight or concealment of them. Among the rest some of the eletti, Don Francesco Menghi, and Don Domenico Rinfreschi, a man of great note, were confined in their houses.

South-west of the island, on the sea-shore near the Castle of S. Angelo, is the arena of S. Angelo, as also a hot bath. In some places a smoke and sulphureous smell issues from the sand; in others, making a hole, there suddenly issues out hot water, which in a little time boils eggs, beans, or other things for the peasants.

Natale saith there are forty in the parliament of Ischia, as many constitute that of Foria, 20 in the others. The eletti and syndics are proposed by the Marquis del Vasto or his Castellano, double to the respective parliaments, who choose which they like.

The parliament men for life; judge changed once a year.

Ischia, Campagnano, Pieio, Cumana, Testaccio, Borano, Fontana, Moropane, Panisa, Foria, Casamici, Cufa.

Inhabitants of Fontana keep flocks of sheep and goats. Lower parts of Monte S. Nicolo clothed with vines; upper part with barley, wheat, and Indian corn; top naked and white. Fontana situate among oak-trees. Narrow, deep vales, like cracks in the earth cloven by an earthquake, as appears by the opposite sides tallying, as also from their shape: a bridge over one of these.

Foria in a plain situate at a corner of the island, having a sort of mole and harbour; the country about it full of vines and fruit-trees. Some rough land and ups and downs between that and Lo Lacco. This last town and Casamici situate among vines and fruit-trees, after which hills covered with myrtles and lentiscus, glyns, groves of chesnuts, &c.

The clergy of Ischia get each a Caroline a mass; the parish priest is not allowed to say above one mass a day; admits others into share of the profits arising from masses for the dead.

The number of the clergy in Ischia accounted for by their lodging the goods of the family in the name and under the protection of the priest, who in case of murder or the like crimes secures them from forfeiture. The bishop admits none to orders who is not invested first with the sum of 700 ducats.

'Pontificum collegium usque ad Theodosii senioris tempora Romæ fuit. Quibus uno edicto sacerdotum omnium reditus fisco applicati sunt.' Zosimus.

Fat quails in Ischia sold for 3 farthings a piece; these brought by wind from Africa hither and to Caprea, whose bishop's revenue, consisting mostly of quails, is uncertain as the wind.

Women imprisoned at Ischia as relations of the banditti after divers weeks set free at five ducats a head.

Quinces also and medlars in the island; and, among other fruits unknown to us, two deserving note particularly, viz. lazzeruoli and suorbi.

The inhabitants make a good deal of money out of dried figs and uvæ passæ.

Confraternity of 100 persons in Testaccio. When any one of these dies, a hundred masses are said for his soul at the expense of the society, it being a Caroline a mass. The like fraternities all over the island, as well as everywhere else in Italy. The parish priest's fee is 7 carlines a death, a hen a birth, 15 carlines a marriage. On New Year's day, Easter day, Corpus Christi day, he dispenses indulgences, and all that are worth money bring it him on these occasions according to their ability.

Mem. The celebration of St. George's (the patron of Testaccio) day and other festivals.

Women's ornaments large gold earrings, and if married, many large gold rings set with false stones on their fingers; but the principal finery consists in the apron, particoloured and embroidered with tinsel, &c.; these worn only on holidays, no more than the rings.

The Ischiots likewise make presents of their wine and corn, &c. to the church, for supplying wax candles and keeping it in repair.

At certain times laymen go about begging money for buying wax candles. Meeting them once on a time, I asked them for whom they sought charity. A woman standing by said, 'For Jesus Christ.'

Not a beggar to be seen in the island, except now and then a poor foreigner that comes to the baths.

No stories or notions of ghosts among the common people.

In marriages of Ischiots, the wedding-day, the relations of the bride, brothers, sisters, &c., accompany her to the bridegroom's house (her father and mother excepted, who always stay at home): having left her there, they return to

the house of the bride's father and there sup, as the relations of the bridegroom do at his house. Next morning relations of both parties bring presents of hemp, napkins, shirts, utensils for the house, &c. neatly done up in baskets, to the house of the bridegroom, where they are treated all that day at dinner.

In burials the fraternities accompany the corpse; nearest relations mourn a month, not shaving their beards for so long.

Burrhi [?] the chymist told Sealy he could do the miracle of St. Januarius' blood.

This Sealy is a lively old man that has eat 2000 vipers. I have seen him eat them raw and moving.

'Si quis piorum manibus locus ; si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnæ animæ ; placide quiescas, nosque domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces,' &c. Tacitus, *In Vita Agricolæ.* N.B. This like papists praying to the dead.

N.B. The description given of the Bonzi in Japan by Maffeius (Lib. 12) agrees to the Jesuits exactly, there being no such powerful and crafty institution among the old Romans as may serve to match them or be drawn into parallel.

3 or 400 ducats a common portion for a woman in Ischia.

Sept. 7. N.S. 1717.

Between 5 and 6 in the morning it began to thunder, and continued without a moment's intermission in one peal for the space of above an hour, during which time the south sky seemed all on fire.

Quails said to be met in great numbers on the sea, swimming with one wing up for a sail.

The demoniacs of S. Andrea della Valle something like the foaming priestesses or mad Bacchanals among the ancients.

Mem. To consult V. Maximus for parallels to the Church of Rome.

Oranges, lemons, olives, and medlars likewise grow in the island of Ischia.

Near relations, as son e. g., on the death of his father, abstain two days from all nourishment, even a piece of bread or sup of wine; nothing but a cup of water.

Ischiots' linen all made of hemp.

'Urbe capta a Gallis, virgines vestales pedibus abeuntes L. Albinius in plaustrum recipit depositis inde uxore et liberis.' Thinking of the English merchant at Leghorn who left his mother out of his will to leave all to the Jesuits or friars, puts me in mind of this.

Sunday morning, Sept. 19, N.S.

Fair weather, without rain, wind or thunder; saw three flashes of lightning come into the chamber.

Children now, as formerly, brought to the temple of Romulus and Remus. Abbate Barbiere.

Roman matrons, near 200, condemned for poisoning many principal persons of the city, anno U. C. 424, of which thing saith Livy, 'Prodigii ea res loco habita: captisque magis mentibus quam consceleratis similis visa.'

Dictator made for striking a nail in the wall of Jupiter's temple. Qu. if nothing like this in the Roman Church.

'Volsci Pontias, insulam sitam in conspectu litoris sui, incoluerant.' L. 9, d. 1.

Mem. To consult Dionysius Hallicarn. of the Roman religious rites, and A. Gellius and Plutarch.

The Holy Scriptures, as formerly the books of the Sybils, made a secret. The oracles of Sybilla Cumana were kept in a stone chest in a cellar under the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, inspected only by the Quindecimviri in cases of sedition, loss of battles, prodigies, or the like, when they directed how to proceed in expiating the gods. Livy, Dionysius, &c. Before the 15 there were ten; and before them, two. Livy, speaking of the Decemviri sacris faciundis, calls them 'Carminum Sibyllæ ac fatorum populi Romani Interpretes.'

Seculare carmen, &c. and the Jubilee.

Both honour their deities with fine statues.

Both worship them with plays. Fireworks, music meetings, comedies, letting off guns, are reckoned fine devotions in the Church of Rome, not omitting gaudy

decorations of their churches, possibly somewhat like lectisterniums[1].

Qu. whether as incense, so wax candles, were used by the heathens.

The leaves of myrtle and lentiscus dried and sent to the tanners in Naples. Qu. about this, and whether there may not a like use be made of leaves in England.

Road between the lake and Ischia lying through the remains of eruptions. The stones I saw among these remains, particularly those worn under foot, confirm the streets of Naples being paved with the matter of eruptions.

Strabo (Lib. 5) saith Procita was anciently broken off from Ischia: that the Eretrians and Chalcedonians (or people of Chalcis) were obliged to quit Ischia by earthquakes and eruptions of fire, of which, saith he, there are many in the island: the same also obliged persons sent by Hiero to quit a building they had begun. Hence the fable of Typhœus lying underneath it. He quotes Pindar as being of opinion that the whole tract of Italy, being from Cumae, and so on to Sicily, is hollowed underground with great caverns corresponding with each other. Hence Ætna, Vesuvius, Solfatara, Ischia, Liparean Islands burn, and that therefore he feigned Typhœus to lie under that tract. He likewise quotes Timeus for horrible eruptions and earthquakes from Monte Epomeo, which caused even the inhabitants on the coast of the continent to withdraw with fright into the midland parts of Campania. So far Strabo.

Pliny (Lib. 3. c. 6) saith Ischia was called Ænaria, from the good reception or station Æneas' ships met with there; and Pythecusæ, from the Greek Pythos, signifying an earthen pitcher or sort of earthen vessel.

Ovid, Metam. l. 14:—

> 'Inarimen Prochytamque legit sterilique locatas
> Colle Pythecusas;'

[1] [On the opposite page Berkeley writes thus:—'N.B. About five years since, or less, Mr. Littlejohn was present at a representation of our Saviour's passion at the Palace in Naples. It was a comedy horridly ridiculous. As Judas acted best, they cried out "Viva Giudas," &c. This was very shocking to some serious Protestants present. Qu. whether the ancients did not, as a piece of religion, represent or act certain passages of the history of their fabulous deities.']

where Pythecusæ and Inarime are plainly distinguished, the former seeming to signify only the town on the rock.

Mem. To consult Lucan (Lib. 5), and likewise for the Island Ischia.

It is observable that Livy too distinguishes Ænaria from Pythecusæ. The same passage (l. 8. d. 1) of Livy makes the Eubœans to have inhabited Ischia before Cuma, which Strabo says was the oldest city in Italy or Sicily. Hence Ischia the most anciently inhabited.

Aloes and Indian figs grow wild in several parts of the island, at least the aloes grow wild; likewise dates, almonds, walnuts.

The vista from S. Nicolo. South—Caprea, and mountains beyond the Bay of Salerno. South-east—Promontory of Minerva, and beyond that the Cape of Palinurus, vulg. Capo di Palinuro, Massa, Vico, Surrento, Castelmare, all on the side of a chain of mountains. East—Vivaro, Procita, Miseno, Baiæ, Pozzuolo, Pausilypo, top of Naples or S. Elmo, Vesuvius. North-east—Cuma. North—Campania Felice, being to the sea, a large plain on the other side bounded by mountains. North-west—Montes Massici (as I suppose), Mola, Caieta, a small isle, &c., as far as the promontory of Retium. West—Ponsa, and two smaller isles more. South-west—the sea.

In the fortress of Ischia, entrance cut through a rock; false stairs; garrison 110; nunnery; pretty cathedral, clean; ornaments in stucco, paintings so so; bishop's palace; prisoners obliged to buy the masseriæ of the banditti, and pay besides 5 or 6 crowns a head. Dates and walnuts in the island of Ischia. Vivaro hath some vines; a world of pheasants; a mile and ½ round. Procita 7 miles round; eight or ten thousand souls; 8000 butts of wine the worst year, sometimes 15,000 or more; yields the Marquis del Vasto 4000 ducats per annum, besides free gifts of 3 or 4000 ducats now and then; the latter sum was given by the University (as they term it) on his returning from making a great expense at Vienna. 200 feluccas or small boats; 50 tartans[1]. What they make in all of wine, fruits, and fish, amounts to about 160,000 ducats per annum.

[1] *Tartane*, a kind of ship.

Clergy 160, secular, whereof 120 parish priests; likewise a Dominican convent; subject all to the Archbishop of Naples. Palace of the Marquis on the east or north-east point, rising, large, regular, handsome, unfurnished; not lived in by the Marquis since Philip got possession of Naples; he, being of the other party, then left the kingdom, and since lived at Vasto; little garden of myrtles and jessamines belonging to it. Fine view, the whole one vineyard; masseriæ enclosed with stone walls; houses thick like a suburb to a town. Heights at two ends, east and west; on the latter a ruin, on the former the castle, and within that the palace.

Harbour between Monte di Procita and Miseno. At the end of Pausilypo Nisita, where M. Brutus, about a mile round, hath a castle and 2 or 3 houses; is thick planted with olives. Grottos in the side of Pausilypo. Virgil's school an ancient brick ruin; divers other fragments of brick ruin. (N.B. The first remarks belong to the further end of Pausilypo.) Palaces along the side or foot of Pausilypo; the hill all along crowned with villas, villages, vines, and fruit-trees. Pausilypo, Baiæ, &c. all crack[ed] and broken in the surface, as if shaken to pieces.

Since I came to Naples, a person formerly a waterman who tugged at the oar bought a dukedom; he is now Duca di Lungano. This I had as certain from the English Consul. Valetta and the other reckon but 2 millions in the kingdom of Naples, and not above five millions in Italy, a 4th in the city flying thither from the oppression of the barons who rule the country.

The ashes on an altar in the south of Italy which no wind could stir. Livy.

The Hebrew and Saint in Genoa.

The holy water fright in Leghorn.

After all it may be said that the greater part of the ceremonies and customs borrowed from the heathens are harmless. I agree, indeed, that the innovations of their own making are more mischievous than the adopted ones. . . . . Their vestals were not enough to thin a country; their colleges of augurs, &c. did not swarm as modern friars; they had no order to parallel with the Jesuits. Modern Rome hath inventions of her own worse than the old, and withal hath *encheri* upon the old.

Solfatara pays 700 crowns per annum to the Annunciata, and 60 to the Bishop of Pozzuolo.

Pontanus (l. 6) will have it that Ischia was torn by an earthquake from the continent, the land being like the Campagnia Felice in fertility.

Nat. Comes, in Fabula de Typhone, saith that Ischia is most abundant and fertile, and rich in mines of gold; the same saith Jasolino himself.

Partenope (now called Venlotiene) on the west of Ischia, sea on the south and south-west, Caprea south-east, Surrento east, Procita and Naples, &c. north-east, Campagnia Felice north.

Contiene (Ischia) promontorii, valli, piani, fonti, fiumi, laghi, penisole, isthmi, monti, bellissimi giardini e copia di soavi e delicati frutti, vini perfetti di piu sorti, gran copia di cedri, arancie e limoni, e miniere d'oro come anche dice Strabone [?].

Giovianus Pontanus had a villa near the ruins of the conflagration, as Jasolino saith, but I could hear nothing of it now.

Between the Cremate and Casamici mounts covered with myrtle and other shrubs.

Near the Sudatorio di Castiglione a vale in Jasolino's time, called Negroponte.

Alum in the island of Ischia.

Monte and Castello di S. Angelo in una penisola.

Fonte di Nitroli. The aqueduct that conveys the water of Buceto 5 miles, from near the top of Epomeus to Ischia town.

Jasolino first printed in 1588.

V. Plinium, l. 3. c. 6; and l. 5. c. 31; and l. 31. c. 2.

11 fountains of fresh and 35 of hot medicinal waters are reckoned in Ischia.

A foolish custom of taking the baths and stufe an odd number of times.

The baths of Ischia not so useful in the bissextile years. This Jasolino affirms from his own observation, quoting, like Savonarola, Baccio, &c. for the same opinion.

It is usual to purge before the baths or stufe, to stay half an hour in the bath, and sweat half an hour after in the bed.

Baths make one thirsty, and are apt to give the headache to those who are ever subject to it.

During the baths beware of cold, use meats that are nourishing and easy of digestion, abstain from sleep by day, water your wine well, go to stool before you take the bath, be merry; in certain baths 'tis good to wash wounds.

A piece of a sword, two fingers broad and a span long, passed between the 1st rib and the jugular bone through the cavity of the thorax and the point between the 8th and 9th rib behind. This piece (thought to have been lost in the sand or sea) remained a year and 17 days in the body of a Napolitan gentleman, whence it was extracted (after many terrible symptoms) by Jasolino, and the party re-established by the baths of Gurgitello and Fontana. The same baths probably enabled him to live so long with that iron in his body, the wound having been made in Ischia and the baths applied.

B. di Fornello good for the ague, spleen (or rather disorders in the spleen); good for obstinate, deep, and sinuous ulcers, dropsy, headache; breaks the stone, draws away sand, opens the bladder, helps in the gout, takes away nauseating of stomach.

B. di Fontana heals wounds, draws out iron, good for lungs and liver, cures the mange or psora, makes the hair fair and long, restores wasted persons, draws out fragments of bones.

B. di Gurgitello cures barrenness, repairs the consumed, strengthens the stomach, breaks the stone, good for the liver, cleans the psora, incites an appetite, draws out iron.

B. degli denti et degli occhi vicine di Gurgitello.

B. d'Ulmitello is good for the arthritis, tenesmus, gravel, cholic, ophthalmia, asthma, palpitation, ague, itch, leprosy, deafness, folks disordered in lungs or spleen.

B. di Succellano, now called B. della Regna, is good for scab, lengthens the hair, clears women's complexion, is profitable to the bladder, eases tenesmus and ague.

B. di piazza Romana takes away itching of the eyes, stops the running of tears, strengthens the eyes, purges bile, stops a cough, fastens hair, preventing its falling, cures broken legs.

Sud. di Castiglione good for the arthritis, colic, mal del

fianco, hysterical fits, gout, dropsy, palsy, weakness of limbs; lightens the body, cures disorders of the liver, as when redness in the cheeks; cures scab, itch, morphew, &c.; comforts the heart, gives an appetite, helps digestion, is good for the vertigo, sores in palate, jaws, and gums, and nostrils.

S. di S. Laurenzo at Casamici good for arthritis, dropsy, &c.

S. di Testaccio, a hole in the ground, about 4 foot deep and 3 wide, sending forth a vapour sulphureous with some tincture of nitre, calcanthus, and bitumen. This found on examining it by a glass bell by Jasolino.

This milder than other sudatories, which frequently cause faintings; good for softening le parti indurite, for evacuating the whole body by sweat; lightens the body, dries internal wounds; good for the doglia del fianco, for hysterical fits and the dropsy, taken in the beginning; good for palsies and convulsions, &c., &c.

Rainerio Solenandro parlando di Testaccio cioè del sudatorio. Cujus calor distorta crura vel quosvis alios statu deformi depravatos artus impositos cuniculo dirigit et reformat: quemadmodum a lignariis fabris videmus contorta ligna flammis dirigi et restitui. Lib. 1°. de Can. Cal. Font. Med. cap. 8.

L' arenatione di S. Restituta mille passi lontana da Gurgitello. The terreno sulphureous, aluminous, ferrugineous; most excellent for the dropsy, dissolves swellings from the gout, cures hysteric affections; perfect cure for the palsy and contractions of the nerves. Heats and dries, taken in beginning of summer or in autumn. Hole must not be more than 3 foot deep, otherwise hot water betrays itself. This water shews much salt beside the above qualities. The arenation is good against leprosy, abortions, orthritis, and dead palsy especially.

Arena di S. Angelo, on the sea shore, above a hundred paces long and about 9 broad; in some places hotter than in others; smokes and burns in some; hath a bath or fountain of water near. Nitre predominant, with iron, bitumen, and sulphur. Good for sciatica, gout, dropsy, abortions, palsy; in a word, for everything that the former is, and in greater perfection.

The foregoing accounts partly from the Ischiots, *viva*

voce, but much the greater part out of Giulio Jasolino and Joannes Elysius, Napolitan physicians.

Seely told me that he has drunk ten young vipers taken out of the womb, all living, as big as large pins, in one glass of wine. Takes powder of vipers dried in the shade, a drachm a day during the months of May and September. Sweetens the blood above all things.

Manna in Ischia.

Five dukes beside marquises, barons, &c., now living who bought their estates and titles from having been common merchants: one had been a waterman, now Duke di Castiglione; another a porter, now Duke di San Levissino.

Borellus will have it that the cavities of Ætna are small tubes and receptacles near the surface, running along the sides of the mountain like syphons, which, incurvated, explain the ascent or eruption of the liquefied matter through an orifice lower than the fountain head. He thinks this the way rather than boiling over like a pot, which is contrary, says he, to the gravity of that matter, as well as to its density, which hinder it from ascending or frothing. 'Et hoc,' saith he, 'historiæ Ætneorum incendiorum satis persuadere videntur, nam nunquam observatum est ex altissimo Ætnæ cratere fluorem vitreum eructatum fuisse, sed tantummodo exiisse fumos et flammas quæ magno impetu ejecerint arenas et saxea fragmenta, fluorem vero vitreum semper ex novis voraginibus apertis in diversis locis lateralibus montis exiisse.' Jo. Alphonsi Borelli de Incendiis Ætnæ, cap. 13[1].

Borellus's slits in the side of Ætna explain those on Monte Epomeo[2].

Borelli in the right that the mountain is large enough to supply the matter flowing down the sides; that the mountain subsides or decreases in height, while 'tis enlarged in circumference; that the rivers are made not so much of sulphur, bitumen, &c., as molten stones and sand

[1] Borellus is one of the authorities referred to in the *De Motu*, sec. 9, 16, 19, 67; also in *Aleiphron*, Dial. VII, 9; and in *Siris*, sect. 249.

[2] Monte Epomeo, in the centre of Ischia.

The formation of Monte Novo in one night, and the covering of Inarime many foot deep (at least where I had an opportunity of observing), seem to contradict Borelli, where he thinks there are no such vast caverns, &c.

Borelli saith all the liquefied matter is generated near the surface in the sides of the mountain, and that there is not only no deep vorago reaching to the level of the sea, but not any vast cavity (the bulk of the mountain internally solid stone, otherwise not able to support so vast a weight), and the uppermost vorago, according to him, not reckoning above 100 paces deep. This to be contradicted: earthquakes and workings in the sea prove large caverns.

> 'Et magis Inarime, magis ut mugitor anhelat,
> Vesbius, attonitas acer cum suscitat urbes.'
> Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* Lib. 3.

> 'Hæc ego Chalcidicis ad te, Marcelle, sonabam
> Litoribus, fractas ubi Vesbius egerit iras,
> Æmula Trinacriis volvens incendia flammis.'
> Stat. Sylv. Lib. 4 *ad Marcellum.*

Diodorus Siculus will have the Cumæan field to be called Phlegrean from Vesuvius; I should rather think it was from the Solfatara. Diod. l. 4 *de Hercule.*

Vid. *Epistolam Plinii ad Tacitum.*

[Here follows a long extract in Latin from *Xiphilini Epistola Dionis in Tito.*]

The head and face of Vesuvius changed by the eruptions often. In Strabo's time it seems to have been neither biceps, nor to have a hollow, being described a sandy plain a-top.

Observable that the eruptions have been mostly, if not altogether, on the south sides; the north been free.

Virgil, in *Georg.* 2, enumerating the choice wines, omits that of Vesuvius, as also do other ancient authors; whereas it is now found to excel all others. This owing to the great quantity of nitre from the eruptions since the age of Classics. Anciently the soil was famous for fruitfulness in corn, which it hath now lost, but is better much in wine.

Justin (*Hist.* l. 4. c. 1) thinks the eruptions are supplied from the sea; and I have heard Napolitans of good sense

maintain that it was probably the sea water sucked in at the bottom of the mountain which flowed out at the top.

Much nitre in Vesuvius; not so at Solfatara. Iron, silver, brass, or the like metals, vainly or poetically (as in the inscription) pretended to be in Vesuvius.

Vesuvius reckoned 32 mile in circuit, and above two mile perpendicular height.

It is pretended that in 31[1] hot waters were spewed out of the crater, and that the sea was dried in great measure, which is brought to confirm Justin's thought.

Islands formed in the sea, and motion without winds observed in the ocean, shew there are such portentous caverns as Borelli laughs at.

Borelli saith Ætna's top may be discerned by mariners at 200 miles distance, whence some have concluded it 6 mile perpendicular height; but from evident reasons he perceives it not possible it should be above 3 mile high; wherefore solves it being seen at that distance by supposing its top above the atmosphere. Qu. whether it may not more truly be solved by the refractive curve in an atmosphere of different density.

The perimeter of Ætna's base made by Borellus to be 133 mile, and 3 miles its height.

Seneca *in Ep.* 79: 'Ignem in inferna aliqua valle conceptum exæstuare et alibi pasci non in ipso monte alimentum sed viam habere.'

Last eruption of Vesuvius to the south-east. The great torrent in the widest part 3 miles broad esteemed.

Altera Japoniorum classis eorum est qui nefaria gentis illius procurant sacra, capite ac mento prorsus abraso, inter quotidiana et occulta flagitia et stupra, cœlibem nihilominus ac sobriam professi vitam, atque ad mortales decipiendos conciliandæ pecuniæ causa, in omne argumentum sanctimoniæ gravitatisque compositi: iidem nobilium ac divitum exsequias ducunt, et alternantibus in odæo choris, carmina suo more decantant, et dicendi copia et facultate præstantes concionibus populum arbitratu suo circumagunt. Variæ ac multæ numerantur eorum sectæ: nec desunt qui ad quandam Rhodiorum equitum speciem bellicas una cum religione res tractent: sed communi

[1] i. e. 1631.

omnes appellatione Bonzii vocitantur, honesto loco nati plerique : nam proceres multitudine liberorum et angustia rei familiaris urgente ex iis aliquos ad Bonziorum instituta ac familias aggregant. Multa insuper variis habent locis gymnasia quas Academias dicimus copiosis instructa vectigalibus. Atque ob eas res præcipuum, ante hanc hominum ætatem, toto Japone obtinebant honoris ac dignitatis locum ; sed post illatas in ea loca faces Evangelii, fraudesque vulgo nudari et coargui cœptas, multum videlicet universo generi de auctoritate atque existimatione decessit.

A man makes a fine entertainment of music and refreshments, or he discharges a vast quantity of powder in mortalletti, or he makes an expensive firework, and this they call devotion, and the author devout.

In the sudatory adjoining, Gregory the Great (*Lib. Dial.* 4) says the Bishop of Capua saw the soul of a holy man doing penance. This he relates as a thing told and believed in his time [1].

N.B. The various dresses, aspects, and complexions of the Madonna.

[The following notice occurs on the opposite page:— 'The plebs (Valetta tells me) are in the interest of the Germans; most of the middling people, or gente civile, in that of the Spaniards. More lawyers among the Neapolitans than in all Italy besides. Several Spanish families settled and mixed with the Neapolitan, and now become one with the people. He tells me that these eleven years that the Germans have been here they have not made one friendship, any of them, with the natives.']

Sealy's story of the piece of tongue stuck in the wall of a church, I heard told by him in presence of a marchese and a lawyer, who yet persisted in the belief of that absurd miracle, saying his unbelief hindered the operation.

At Bari the thigh-bone of the saint was seen in an open stone chest on the side of the fountain, which had four lighted lamps round it ; this the German tells me, who saith the water most certainly did not run out of the bone, as he evidently saw. Yet at Naples men of quality and learning steadfastly believe this.

One Saturday morning, a pewterer, our next neighbour, had a Madonna, being a painted, gay dressed baby, brought

[1] This treatise is of very doubtful authorship. See Cave, *Hist. Lit.*

from the Spirito Santo to his shop, which was hung with gaudy pieces of silk for her reception. She came in a chair, the porters bareheaded. Upon her arrival, mortalletti were fired at the door of the pewterer; the porters handing her out made a profound reverence; the windows opposite and adjoining were hung with silk and tapestry. That night she was entertained with firework, as she had been the day with music playing in the street to welcome her. The next morning music again in the street, and firework at night. The Monday likewise music, and tapestry hung out as before. She was that day after dinner sent away in a chair, with salutations of the porters bareheaded, and with firing of mortalletti.

St. Gregory (Lib. 4 *Dialogorum*) relates that S. Germanus, Bishop of Capua, being advised to sweat in the sudatory by the Lago Agnano, there saw the soul of Cardinal Paschasius doing penance.

N.B. The Lago d'Agnano hath no fish, but abounds with frogs and serpents.

Monday, April 11, 1718[1].

Set out from Naples after dinner; reached Capua that evening. Germans busied in fortifying the town against the approach of the Spaniards.

April 12.

First post through delicious green fields, plain and spacious, adorned with fruit-trees and oaks, so scattered and disposed as to make a delightful landscape; much corn and fruit.

2d post, good part of it like the foregoing; then pass through a wood of oaks, cupi [cypress?], &c.; after that came into a country less plain; hills, and great part of the road cut through rocks; after which a village, Cassano, where we first meet the Appian Way. Mountains sometimes before, mostly on our left, since we left Naples. Then through a country thick set with wine, oil, &c., to

[1] The preceding letter to Pope, dated Naples, October 22, 1717, is the last record of Berkeley in that year. Our next is this, on April 11 in the following year, when the travellers were leaving Naples on their way to Rome.

S. Agata, having hills on left and right. Sessa, fine town, within less than a mile of S. Agata.

3rd post 10 miles from S. Agata, thick planted with olives and vines; save a good part in the beginning, a perfect wood of olives; chain of mountains on our left; country somewhat unequal, with pleasant risings; after this, open, large, flat, pleasant meadows along the Liris, which flowed on our right. Cross the Liris or Garigliano at ten miles from S. Agata, which is a posthouse and little else. Here the Germans had made a bridge of boats, which we drove over[1]. Having changed horses at Garigliano (a house or two so called), we passed onward between an old aqueduct on the right and certain large ruins on the left. Treeto on a hill on the other side the aqueduct, and in the last post we passed by Castelforte on the hills, also on the right. Fine corn, &c. country, till within about 4 miles of Mola, when it grew stony, and unequal, and shrubby; near the town a large grove of olives. This post we had the mountains near us on the right, and sea on the left. Mola a seaport; poor town[2]. Divers ruins, seeming as of sepulchres, &c., this post on the road side. Greatest part of this post passed on the Appian Way, whereof fragments appear entire, and ending abruptly, as if part had been cut off or taken away. Liris larger than the Vulturnus.

5th post from Mola to Itri. After a little way this post all enclosed between hills on right and left; many olives; almost all on the Appian Way. Itri a town poor and dirty, but pretty large.

6th post from Itri to Fondi. First 3 miles *præterpropter* between and over hills on the Appian Way; then descend a few miles further to Fondi, over a plain well planted; cypress, orange, and lemon trees near the town[3].

[1] As they seem to have crossed in a ferry-boat in coming from Rome, (p. 291) the bridge may have been constructed in the interval.

[2] The Cicerone, the inn at Mola di Gaeta, is supposed to be on the site of the Formian Villa of Cicero. The scenery is lovely. The orange groves almost touch the shore, and their bright green contrasts with the olive groves, while the middle of the picture is formed by the Bay and the Promontory, the background by the distant hills.

[3] The scenery between Fondi and Itri is beautiful, but travellers in posting days were anxious to press on quickly, as the inhabitants had a bad reputation.

7th post from Fondi to Terracina, 3 miles through a fruitful plain; oranges, &c. Without the town a small river seemed to render it marshy and unwholesome, flowing by the city on the side towards Rome; about 5 miles more, as I could judge, having woods and stony hills on right close, and at small distance on left the Palus Pomptina; land flat, marshy, hardly inhabited for the illness of the air. About 2 miles further close along the sea, being verged on the right by mountains, many broken rocks, as fallen in an earthquake, on the road. Near Terracina a grotto with an entrance like a large door cut in the rock, the face whereof is also cut even down, resembling somewhat the gable-end of a stone house. A fine square sepulchre of huge square stones I observed within less than two miles before we came to the boundaries of the kingdom. It stood on the road to our right, and is become a stable for asses, a door being in one side of it, and no inscription. N.B. Having passed six miles from Fondi we came to the limits of the kingdom and entered the Roman States. Lie this night at Terracina.

April 13.

1st post 8 miles from Terracina to Limarudi, along the side of shrubby, stony hills on right; some ruins, seeming of sepulchres, on the road; on the left Monte Circello in view. All this post on left marshy, low ground, little cultivated, and uninhabited.

2nd post 8 miles to Piperno, whereof six first through a plain champaign much like the foregoing; the 2 last among wood and hills. Piperno situate on a hill or eminence.

3rd post from Piperno to the next post-house, 7 miles, 6 among hills and fruitful vales; [the last] almost entire in the Campagna di Roma.

4th post 8 miles to Sermeneta, lying through the Campagna; a mile and half before we reached Sermeneta, a fellow extorted a Julio with his gun. [Cf. the 6th post in the Journey from Rome to Naples, p. 289.] N.B. The Campagna green, and in many parts woody; still flat and marshy; no houses, hardly any corn, no cattle but a few buffaloes.

5th post 7 miles to Cisterna, where the dwelling-seat of the Prince of Caserta. We passed this post the latter part through a forest with deer belonging to the said prince. Few or no houses in the Campagna.

6th post 8 miles and ½ to Veletri; 7 first through rising ground, being spacious, open, corn, green fields; the other mile and ½ through enclosures and among trees, &c.

7th post nine miles to Marino, over and among hills and woods. Near 3 miles steep ascent from Veletri; after about 6 miles pass by Castel Gondolfo, situate in a lake seeming 3 or 4 miles round. The latter part of this post pretty well tilled. Marino a pretty clean village, belonging to the Constable Colonna.

8th post from Marino to the next post-house, 6 miles through the flat Campagna di Roma. Overturned topsy-turvy in this post in the night.

9th post 6 miles to Rome, through the flat Campagna; hardly a tree or cottage; some corn. Arrived at Rome about ten o'clock last night, Tramontane reckoning[1].

[Berkeley here gives as notanda some extracts from Roman Catholic books.

One he prefaces thus:—'Instance of praying ultimately to saints out of an office recited at certain times, viz. on Fridays, in the church, called Il Transito di S. Antonio di Padua:' Oremus, &c.

He refers also to the *Gratie e Miracoli del Gran Santo di Padova: in Padova con licenza, anno* 1703, p. 353.

He quotes the *Acta Canonizationis Sanctorum Petri de Alcantara et Mariæ Magdalenæ de Pazzi*, Rome, 1669, p. 10, and remarks on the titles *Sanctissimus* and *Nostro Signore*, which belong to the Saviour, being applied to the Pope.

He quotes likewise other instances of praying to saints.]

[1] The above Itinerary is almost identical with that in the former part of the Journal, only in the reverse order.

Berkeley and his pupil seem to have lived much at Rome in 1718. He writes from thence to Lord Percival on April 26, July 28, and Nov. 13 of that year. On July 28 he remarks that 'in Architecture the old Romans were inferior to the Greeks, and the moderns infinitely short of both, in grandeur and simplicity of taste.'

AN

ESSAY

TOWARDS PREVENTING THE RUIN OF

GREAT BRITAIN

'Avaritia fidem, probitatem, cæterasque artes bonas subvertit: pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, Deos negligere, omnia venalia habere, edocuit.'—SALLUST.

'Ii qui largitionem magistratus adepti sunt, dederunt operam ut ita potestatem gererent, ut illam lacunam rei familiaris explerent.'—CICERO.

'Omnes aut de honoribus suis, aut de præmiis pecuniæ, aut de persequendis inimicis agebant.'—CÆSAR.

First published in 1721

NOTE

This fervid *Essay* is highly significant biographically. It is the first emphatic expression of Berkeley's enthusiastic disposition towards social and economical questions and philanthropic idealism, which soon after its publication was directed to America, as the destined home of Christian civilisation in the future. It was published in London in 1721, soon after his return from his second visit to Italy, when England seemed to him socially paralysed on the occasion of the South Sea catastrophe; society throughout the Old World 'such as Europe breeds in her decay.' The social corruption of England struck him with dismay, even with despair, on his return, and the fear expressed in this *Essay* respecting the Christian civilisation of the Old World soon turned his hope for mankind to the World beyond the Atlantic, in which the race of man might enter on a new career. His active imagination and eager temperament probably exaggerated the evil symptoms in the ancient and, as it appeared, effete society.

The *Essay*, at first published anonymously, was reprinted by Berkeley in the *Miscellany*, in 1752.

AN ESSAY, &c.

WHETHER the prosperity that preceded, or the calamities that succeed the South Sea project[1] have most contributed to our undoing is not so clear a point as it is that we are actually undone, and lost to all sense of our true interest. Nothing less than this could render it pardonable to have recourse to those old-fashioned trite maxims concerning Religion, Industry, Frugality, and Public Spirit, which are now forgotten, but, if revived and put in practice, may not only prevent our final ruin, but also render us a more happy and flourishing people than ever.

Religion hath in former days been cherished and reverenced by wise patriots and lawgivers, as knowing it to be impossible that a nation should thrive and flourish without virtue, or that virtue should subsist without conscience, or conscience without religion: insomuch that an atheist or infidel was looked on with abhorrence, and treated as an enemy to his country. But, in these wiser times, a cold indifference for the national religion, and indeed for all matters of faith and Divine worship, is thought good sense. It is even become fashionable to decry religion; and that little talent of ridicule is applied to such wrong purposes that a good Christian can hardly keep himself in countenance.

Liberty is the greatest human blessing that a virtuous man can possess, and is very consistent with the duties of a good subject and a good Christian. But the present age aboundeth with injudicious patrons of liberty, who, not distinguishing between that and licentiousness, take the surest method to discredit what they would seem

[1] The South Sea Company was incorporated in 1711 for trading with America.

to propagate. For, in effect, can there be a greater affront offered to that just freedom of thought and action which is the prerogative of a rational creature, or can any thing recommend it less to honest minds, than under colour thereof to obtrude scurrility and profaneness on the world? But it hath been always observed of weak men, that they know not how to avoid one extreme without running into another.

Too many of this sort pass upon vulgar readers for great authors, and men of profound thought; not on account of any superiority either in sense or style, both which they possess in a very moderate degree, nor of any discoveries they have made in arts and sciences, which they seem to be little acquainted with; but purely because they flatter the passions of corrupt men, who are pleased to have the clamours of conscience silenced, and those great points of the Christian religion made suspected which withheld them from many vices of pleasure and interest, or made them uneasy in the commission of them.

In order to promote that laudable design of effacing all sense of religion from among us, they form themselves into assemblies, and proceed with united counsels and endeavours; with what success, and with what merit towards the public, the effect too plainly shews. I will not say these gentlemen have formed a direct design to ruin their country, or that they have the sense to see half the ill consequences which must necessarily flow from the spreading of their opinions; but the nation feels them, and it is high time the legislature put a stop to them.

I am not for placing an invidious power in the hands of the clergy, or complying with the narrowness of any mistaken zealots who should incline to persecute Dissenters. But, whatever conduct common sense, as well as Christian charity, obligeth us to use towards those who differ from us in some points of religion, yet the public safety requireth that the avowed contemners of all religion should be severely chastised. And perhaps it may be no easy matter to assign a good reason why blasphemy against God should not be inquired into and punished with the same rigour as treason against the king.

For, though we may attempt to patch up our affairs, yet it will be to no purpose; the finger of God will unravel

all our vain projects, and make them snares to draw us into greater calamities, if we do not reform that scandalous libertinism which (whatever some shallow men may think) is our worst symptom, and the surest prognostic of our ruin.

Industry is the natural sure way to wealth. This is so true that it is impossible an industrious free people should want the necessaries and comforts of life, or an idle enjoy them under any form of government[1]. Money is so far useful to the public as it promoteth industry, and credit having the same effect is of the same value with money; but money or credit circulating through a nation from hand to hand, without producing labour and industry in the inhabitants, is direct gaming[1].

It is not impossible for cunning men to make such plausible schemes as may draw those who are less skilful into their own and the public ruin. But surely there is no man of sense and honesty but must see and own, whether he understands the game or not, that it is an evident folly for any people, instead of prosecuting the old honest methods of industry and frugality, to sit down to a public gaming-table, and play off their money one to another.

The more methods there are in a state for acquiring riches without industry or merit, the less there will be of either in that state; this is as evident as the ruin that attends it. Besides, when money is shifted from hand to hand in such a blind, fortuitous manner that some men shall from nothing in an instant acquire vast estates without the least desert; while others are as suddenly stripped of plentiful fortunes, and left on the parish by their own avarice and credulity, what can be hoped for, on the one hand, but abandoned luxury and wantonness, or, on the other, but extreme madness and despair?

In short, all projects for growing rich by sudden and extraordinary methods, as they operate violently on the passions of men, and encourage them to despise the slow moderate gains that are to be made by an honest industry, must be ruinous to the public, and even the winners themselves will at length be involved in the public ruin.

[1] So afterwards in the *Querist*, Qu. 1–47, 217–254, &c.

It is an easy matter to contrive projects for the encouragement of industry: I wish it were as easy to persuade men to put them in practice. There is no country in Europe where there is so much charity collected for the poor, and none where it is so ill managed. If the poor-tax fixed was fixed at a medium in every parish, taken from a calculation of the last ten years, and raised for seven years by act of parliament, that sum (if the common estimate be not very wrong), frugally and prudently laid out in workhouses, would for ever free the nation from the care of providing for the poor, and at the same time considerably improve our manufactures. We might by these means rid our streets of beggars; even the children, the maimed, and the blind, might be put in a way of doing something for their livelihood. As for the small number of those who by age or infirmities are utterly incapable of all employment, they might be maintained by the labour of others; and the public would receive no small advantage from the industry of those who are now so great a burden and expense to it[1].

The same tax, continued three years longer, might be very usefully employed in making high roads, and rendering rivers navigable—two things of so much profit and ornament to a nation, that we seem the only people in Europe who have neglected them[2]. So that in the space of ten years the public may be for ever freed from a heavy tax, industry encouraged, commerce facilitated, and the whole country improved, and all this only by a frugal honest management, without raising one penny extraordinary.

The number of people is both means and motives to industry[3]. It should therefore be of great use to encourage propagation, by allowing some reward or privilege to those who have a certain number of children; and, on the other hand, enacting that the public shall inherit half the unentailed estates of all who die unmarried of either sex.

[1] We have here a characteristic recognition of abuses apt to accompany legal as distinguished from voluntary provision for the poor, and suggestions of means for correcting them. Cf. *Querist*, Qu. 375–381.

[2] [This was published before turnpikes were erected.]—Author.

[3] Cf. *Querist*, Qu. 62, 87, 130, 206, 217, 372.

Besides the immediate end proposed by the foregoing methods, they furnish taxes upon passengers, and dead bachelors, which are in no sort grievous to the subject, and may be applied towards clearing the public debt, which, all mankind agree, highly concerneth the nation in general, both court and country. Cæsar[1] indeed mentions it as a piece of policy that he borrowed money from his officers to bestow it on the soldiers, which fixed both to his interest; and, though something like this may pass for skill at certain junctures in civil government, yet, if carried too far, it will prove a dangerous experiment.

There is still room for invention or improvement in most trades and manufactures, and it is probable, that premiums given on that account to ingenious artists, would soon be repaid a hundred-fold to the public. No colour is so much wore in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, as black; but our black cloth is neither so lasting, nor of so good a dye as the Dutch, which is the reason of their engrossing the profit of that trade. This is so true that I have known English merchants abroad wear black cloth of Holland themselves, and sell and recommend it as better than that of their own country. It is commonly said the water of Leyden hath a peculiar property for colouring black, but it hath been also said and passed current that good glasses may be made no where but at Venice, and there only in the island of Murano; which was attributed to some peculiar property in the air. And we may possibly find other opinions of that sort to be as groundless, should the legislature think it worth while to propose premiums in the foregoing, or in the like cases of general benefit to the public; but I remember to have seen, about seven years ago, a man pointed at in a coffee-house who (they said) had first introduced the right scarlet dye among us, by which the nation in general, as well as many private persons, have since been great gainers, though he was himself a beggar, who, if this be true, deserved an honourable maintenance from the public.

There are also several manufactures which we have from abroad that may be carried on to as great perfection here as elsewhere. If it be considered that more fine linen[2] is wore in Great Britain than in any other country of

[1] *De Bello Civili*, I. 39. [2] Cf. *Querist*, Qu. 74, 82, 83.

Europe, it will be difficult to assign a reason why paper[1] may not be made here as good, and in the same quantity, as in Holland, or France, or Genoa. This is a manufacture of great consumption, and would save much to the public. The like may be said of tapestry, lace, and other manufactures, which, if set on foot in cheap parts of the country, would employ many hands, and save money to the nation, as well as bring it from abroad[2]. Projects for improving old manufactures, or setting up new ones, should not be despised in a trading country, but the making them pretences for stock-jobbing hath been a fatal imposition.

As industry dependeth upon trade, and this, as well as the public security, upon our navigation, it concerneth the legislature to provide that the number of our sailors do not decrease—to which it would very much conduce, if a law were made prohibiting the payment of sailors in foreign parts; for it is usual with those on board merchantmen as soon as they set foot on shore to receive their pay, which is soon spent in riotous living; and when they have emptied their pockets, the temptation of a pistole present money never faileth to draw them into any foreign service. To this (if I may credit the information I have had from some English factors abroad) it is chiefly owing, that the Venetians, Spaniards, and others have so many English on board their ships. Some merchants indeed and masters of vessels may make a profit in defrauding those poor wretches, when they pay them in strange coin (which I have been assured often amounts to twelvepence in the crown), as well as in ridding themselves of the charge of keeping them when they sell their ships, or stay long in port; but the public lose both the money and the men, who, if their arrears were to be cleared at home, would be sure to return, and spend them in their own country. It is a shame this abuse should not be remedied.

Frugality of manners is the nourishment and strength of bodies politic. It is that by which they grow and subsist, until they are corrupted by luxury; the natural

[1] Cf. *Querist*, Qu. 74, 82, 83. [2] Cf. *Querist*, Qu. 64-69, 144.

cause of their decay and ruin. Of this we have examples in the Persians, Lacedemonians, and Romans: not to mention many later governments which have sprung up, continued awhile, and then perished by the same natural causes. But these are, it seems, of no use to us; and, in spite of them, we are in a fair way of becoming ourselves another useless example to future ages.

Men are apt to measure national prosperity by riches. It would be righter to measure it by the use that is made of them. Where they promote an honest commerce among men, and are motives to industry and virtue, they are, without doubt, of great advantage; but where they are made (as too often happens) an instrument to luxury, they enervate and dispirit the bravest people. So just is that remark of Machiavel—that there is no truth in the common saying, money is the nerves of war; and though we may subsist tolerably for a time amongst corrupt neighbours, yet if ever we have to do with a hardy, temperate, religious sort of men, we shall find, to our cost, that all our riches are but a poor exchange for that simplicity of manners which we despise in our ancestors. This sole advantage hath been the main support of all the republics that have made a figure in the world; and perhaps it might be no ill policy in a kingdom to form itself upon the manners of a republic.

Simplicity of manners may be more easily preserved in a republic than a monarchy; but if once lost may be sooner recovered in a monarchy, the example of a court being of great efficacy, either to reform or to corrupt a people; that alone were sufficient to discountenance the wearing of gold or silver, either in clothes or equipage, and if the same were prohibited by law, the saving so much bullion would be the smallest benefit of such an institution —there being nothing more apt to debase the virtue and good sense of our gentry of both sexes than the trifling vanity of apparel which we have learned from France, and which hath had such visible ill consequences on the genius of that people. Wiser nations have made it their care to shut out this folly by severe laws and penalties, and its spreading among us can forbode no good, if there be any truth in the observation of one of the ancients, that the direct way to ruin a man is to dress him up in fine clothes.

It cannot be denied that luxury of Dress [1] giveth a light behaviour to our women, which may pass for a small offence, because it is a common one, but is in truth the source of great corruptions. For this very offence the prophet Isaiah denounced a severe judgment against the ladies of his time. I shall give the passage [2] at length: 'Moreover, the Lord saith, Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with stretched forth necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet; therefore the Lord will smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion, and the Lord will discover their secret parts. In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments about their feet, and their cauls, and their round tires like the moon, the chains, and the bracelets, and the mufflers, the bonnets, and the ornaments of the legs, and the headbands, and the tablets, and the earrings, the rings and nose-jewels, the changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles, and the wimples, and the crispingpins, the glasses, and the fine linen, and the hoods, and the vails. And it shall come to pass that instead of sweet smell there shall be stink; and instead of a girdle a rent; and instead of well-set hair baldness; and instead of a stomacher, a girding of sackcloth; and burning instead of beauty.' The scab, the stench, and the burning are terrible pestilential symptoms, and our ladies would do well to consider they may chance to resemble those of Zion in their punishment as well as their offence.

But dress is not the only thing to be reformed, sumptuary laws are useful in many other points. In former times the natural plainness and good sense of the English made them less necessary. But ever since the luxurious reign of King Charles the Second we have been doing violence to our natures, and are by this time so much altered for the worse that it is to be feared the very same dispositions that make them necessary will for ever hinder them from being enacted or put in execution.

A private family in difficult circumstances, all men agree, ought to melt down their plate, walk on foot, retrench the number of their servants, wear neither jewels

[1] Cf. *Querist*, Qu. 102, 103, 141, 144–149, 422, 452–457.
[2] Isaiah iii. 16–24.

nor rich clothes, and deny themselves expensive diversions; and why not the public? Had anything like this been done, our taxes had been less, or, which is the same thing, we should have felt them less. But it is very remarkable that luxury was never at so great a height, nor spread so generally through the nation, as during the expense of the late wars, and the heavy debt that still lieth upon us.

This vice draweth after it a train of evils which cruelly infest the public; faction, ambition, envy, avarice, and that of the worst kind, being much more hurtful in its consequences, though not so infamous as penury. It was the great art of Cardinal Richelieu, by encouraging luxury and expense, to impoverish the French nobility and render them altogether dependent on the crown, which hath been since very successfully effected. These and many more considerations shew the necessity there is for sumptuary laws; nor can anything be said against them in this island which might not with equal force be objected in other countries, which have nevertheless judged the public benefit of such institutions to be of far greater importance than the short sufferings of a few who subsist by the luxury of others.

It is evident that old taxes may be better borne, as well as new ones raised, by sumptuary laws judiciously framed, not to damage our trade, but retrench our luxury. It is evident that, for want of these, luxury (which, like the other fashions, never faileth to descend) hath infected all ranks of people, and that this enableth the Dutch and French to undersell us, to the great prejudice of our traffic. We cannot but know that, in our present circumstances, it should be our care, as it is our interest, to make poverty tolerable; in short, we have the experience of many ages to convince us that a corrupt luxurious people must of themselves fall into slavery, although no attempt be made upon them. These and the like obvious reflexions should, one would think, have forced any people in their senses upon frugal measures.

But we are doomed to be undone. Neither the plain reason of the thing, nor the experience of past ages, nor the examples we have before our eyes, can restrain us from imitating, not to say surpassing, the most corrupt and ruined people, in those very points of luxury that

ruined them. Our Gaming, our Operas, our Masquerades, are, in spite of our debts and poverty, become the wonder of our neighbours. If there be any man so void of all thought and common sense as not to see where this must end, let him but compare what Venice was at the league of Cambray with what it is at present, and he will be convinced how truly those fashionable pastimes are calculated to depress and ruin a nation.

But neither Venice nor Paris, nor any other town in any part of the world, ever knew such an expensive ruinous folly as our Masquerade [1]. This alone is sufficient to inflame and satisfy the several appetites for gaming, dressing, intriguing, and luxurious eating and drinking. It is a most skilful abridgment, the very quintessence, the abstract of all those senseless vanities that have ever been the ruin of fools and detestation of wise men. And all this, under the notion of an elegant entertainment, hath been admitted among us; though it be in truth a contagion of the worst kind. The plague, dreadful as it is, is an evil of short duration; cities have often recovered and flourished after it; but when was it known that a people broken and corrupt by luxury recovered themselves? Not to say that general corruption of manners never faileth to draw after it some heavy judgment of war, famine, or pestilence. Of this we have a fresh instance in one of the most debauched towns of Europe [2], and nobody knows how soon it may be our own case. This elegant entertainment is indeed suspended for the present, but there remains so strong a propension towards it that, if the wisdom of the legislature does not interpose, it will soon return, with the additional temptation of having been forbid for a time. It were stupid and barbarous to declaim against keeping up the spirit of the people by proper diversions, but then they should be proper, such as polish and improve their minds, or increase the strength and

[1] The abuses of the Masquerade were then the scandal of fashionable life in England. About 1721, they were attacked in satirical as well as serious pamphlets. On a remonstrance by the Bishop of London, this favourite amusement of the town was the subject of a royal proclamation. See Wright's *England under the House of Hanover*, chaps. 3, 14.

[2] [Marseilles.]—AUTHOR. In 1720 the plague broke out in Marseilles, and is said to have carried off 40,000 of the inhabitants.

activity of their bodies; none of which ends are answered by the Masquerade, no more than by those French and Italian follies, which to our shame, are imported and encouraged at a time when the nation ought to be too grave for such trifles.

It is not to be believed what influence public diversions have on the spirit and manners of a people. The Greeks wisely saw this, and made a very serious affair of their public sports. For the same reason it will perhaps seem worthy the care of our legislature to regulate the public diversions by an absolute prohibition of those which have a direct tendency to corrupt our morals, as well as by a reformation of the Drama;—which, when rightly managed, is such a noble entertainment, and gave those fine lessons of morality and good sense to the Athenians of old, and to our British gentry above a century ago; but for these last ninety years hath entertained us, for the most part, with such wretched things as spoil instead of improving the taste and manners of the audience. Those who are attentive to such propositions only as may fill their pockets will probably slight these things as trifles below the care of the legislature. But I am sure all honest thinking men must lament to see their country run headlong into all those luxurious follies, which, it is evident, have been fatal to other nations, and will undoubtedly prove fatal to us also, if a timely stop be not put to them.

Public spirit, that glorious principle of all that is great and good, is so far from being cherished or encouraged that it is become ridiculous in this enlightened age, which is taught to laugh at every thing that is serious as well as sacred. The same atheistical narrow spirit, centering all our cares upon private interest, and contracting all our hopes within the enjoyment of this present life, equally produceth a neglect of what we owe to God and our country. Tully[1] hath long since observed 'that it is impossible for those who have no belief of the immortality

[1] Among the passages in which Cicero refers to a future life, I have not found one which exactly corresponds with Berkeley's version. The opinions of Cicero regarding the immortality of the human soul were discussed by various writers about that time, e. g. Collins, *Discourse of Freethinking*, pp. 135-140, &c.

of the soul, or a future state of rewards and punishments, to sacrifice their particular interests and passions to the public good, or have a generous concern for posterity,' and our own experience confirmeth the truth of this observation.

In order therefore to recover a sense of public spirit, it is to be wished that men were first affected with a true sense of religion; *pro aris et focis*, having ever been the great motive to courage and perseverance in a public cause.

It would likewise be a very useful policy, and warranted by the example of the wisest governments, to make the natural love of fame and reputation subservient to promoting that noble principle. Triumphal arches, columns, statues, inscriptions, and the like monuments of public services, have, in former times, been found great incentives to virtue and magnanimity; and would probably have the same effects on Englishmen which they have had on Greeks and Romans. And perhaps a pillar of infamy would be found a proper and exemplary punishment in cases of signal public villainy, where the loss of fortune, liberty, or life, are not proportioned to the crime; or where the skill of the offender, or the nature of his offence, may screen him from the letter of the law.

Several of these are to be seen at Genoa, Milan, and other towns of Italy, where it is the custom to demolish the house of a citizen who hath conspired the ruin of his country, or been guilty of any enormous crime towards the public, and in place thereof to erect a monument of the crime and criminal, described in the blackest manner. We have nothing of this sort that I know, but that which is commonly called the Monument[1], which in the last age was erected for an affair no way more atrocious than the modern unexampled attempt[2] of men easy in their fortunes, and unprovoked by hardships of any sort, in cool blood, and with open eyes, to ruin their native country. This fact will never be forgotten, and it were to be wished that with it the public detestation thereof may be transmitted to

[1] The Monument erected (1671–1677) to commemorate the Great Fire of London. The Fire was attributed to a Popish plot, in an inscription on the Monument, added in 1681, and erased in 1831.

[2] [The South Sea project.]—AUTHOR.

posterity, which would in some measure vindicate the honour of the present, and be a useful lesson to future ages.

Those noble arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting do not only adorn the public but have also an influence on the minds and manners of men, filling them with great ideas, and spiriting them up to an emulation of worthy actions. For this cause they were cultivated and encouraged by the Greek cities, who vied with each other in building and adorning their temples, theatres, porticos, and the like public works, at the same time that they discouraged private luxury; the very reverse of our conduct.

To propose the building a parliament house, courts of justice, royal palace, and other public edifices, suitable to the dignity of the nation, and adorning them with paintings and statues, which may transmit memorable things and persons to posterity, would probably be laughed at as a vain affair, of great expense, and little use to the public; and it must be owned we have reduced ourselves to such straits that any proposition of expense suiteth ill with our present circumstances. But, how proper soever this proposal may be for the times, yet it comes so properly into a discourse of public spirit that I could not but say something of it. And at another time it will not seem unreasonable, if we consider that it is no more than the wisest nations have done before us, that it would spirit up new arts, employ many hands, keep the money circulating at home, and, lastly, that it would be a notable instance of public spirit, as well as a motive to it[1].

The same noble principle may be also encouraged by erecting an Academy of ingenious men, whose employment it would be to compile the history of Great Britain, to make discourses proper to inspire men with a zeal for the public, and celebrate the memory of those who have been ornaments to the nation, or done it eminent service. Not to mention that this would improve our language, and amuse some busy spirits of the age; which perhaps would be no ill policy.

This is not without example; for, to say nothing of the French Academy, which is prostituted to meaner purposes, it hath been the custom of the Venetian Senate to appoint

[1] Cf. *Querist*, Qu. 70–73, 115, 120, 398–409.

one of their order to continue the history of the Republic. This was introduced in the flourishing state of that people, and is still in force. We fall short of other nations in the number of good historians, though no nation in Christendom hath produced greater events, or more worthy to be recorded. The Athenian Senate appointed orators to commemorate annually those who died in defence of their country, which solemnity was performed at their monuments erected in honour of them by the public; and the panegyrics, composed by Isocrates and Pericles, as well as many passages in Tully, inform us with what pleasure the ancient orators used to expatiate in praise of their country.

Concord and union among ourselves is rather to be hoped for as an effect of public spirit than proposed as a means to promote it. Candid, generous men, who are true lovers of their country, can never be enemies to one half of their countrymen, or carry their resentments so far as to ruin the public for the sake of a party. Now I have fallen upon the mention of our parties, I shall beg leave to insert a remark or two, for the service both of Whig and Tory, without entering into their respective merits. First, it is impossible for either party to ruin the other without involving themselves and their posterity in the same ruin. Secondly, it is very feasible for either party to get the better of the other if they could first get the better of themselves; and, instead of indulging the little womanish passions of obstinacy, resentment, and revenge, steadily promote the true interest of their country, in those great clear points of piety, industry, sobriety of manners, and an honest regard for posterity, which, all men of sense agree, are essential to public happiness. There would be something so great and good in this conduct as must necessarily overbear all calumny and opposition. But that men should act reasonably is rather to be wished than hoped.

I am well aware, that to talk of public spirit, and the means of retrieving it, must, to narrow sordid minds, be matter of jest and ridicule, how conformable soever it be to right reason, and the maxims of antiquity. Though one would think the most selfish men might see it was their interest to encourage a spirit in others, by which

they, to be sure, must be gainers. Yet such is the corruption and folly of the present age that a public spirit is treated like ignorance of the world and want of sense; and all the respect is paid to cunning men, who bend and wrest the public interest to their own private ends, that in other times hath been thought due to those who were generous enough to sacrifice their private interest to that of their country.

Such practices and such maxims as these must necessarily ruin a state. But if the contrary should prevail, we may hope to see men in power prefer the public wealth and security to their own, and men of money make free gifts, or lend it without interest to their country. This, how strange and incredible soever it may seem to us, hath been often done in other States. And the natural English temper considered, together with the force of example, no one can tell how far a proposal for a free gift may go among the monied men, when set on foot by the legislature, and encouraged by two or three men of figure, who have the spirit to do a generous thing, and the understanding to see it is every private man's interest to support that of the public.

If they who have their fortunes in money should make a voluntary gift, the public would be eased, and at the same time maintain its credit. Nor is a generous love of their country the only motive that should induce them to this. Common equity requires that all subjects should equally share the public burden; and common sense shews that those who are foremost in the danger should not be the most backward in contributing to prevent it.

Before I leave this subject, I cannot but take notice of that most infamous practice of Bribery, than which nothing can be more opposite to public spirit, since every one who takes a bribe plainly owns that he prefers his private interest to that of his country. This corruption is become a national crime, having infected the lowest as well as the highest amongst us, and is so general and notorious that, as it cannot be matched in former ages, so it is to be hoped it will not be imitated by posterity.

This calls to mind another guilt, which we possess in a very eminent degree; there being no nation under the sun where solemn Perjury is so common, or where there

are such temptations to it. The making men swear so often in their own case, and where they have an interest to conceal the truth, hath gradually worn off that awful respect which was once thought due to an appeal to Almighty God; insomuch, that men now-a-days break their fast and a custom-house oath with the same peace of mind. It is a policy peculiar to us, the obliging men to perjure or betray themselves, and hath had no one good effect, but many very ill ones. Sure I am that other nations, without the hundredth part of our swearing, contrive to do their business at least as well as we do. And perhaps our legislature will think it proper to follow their example. For, whatever measures are taken, so long as we lie under such a load of guilt as national Perjury and national Bribery, it is impossible we can prosper.

This poor nation hath sorely smarted of late, and to ease the present smart, a sudden remedy (as is usual in such cases) hath been thought of. But we must beware not to mistake an anodyne for a cure. Where the vitals are touched, and the whole mass of humours vitiated, it is not enough to ease the part pained; we must look farther, and apply general correctives; otherwise the ill humour may soon shew itself in some other part.

The South-sea affair, how sensible soever, is not the original evil, or the great source of our misfortunes; it is but the natural effect of those principles which for many years have been propagated with great industry. And, as a sharp distemper, by reclaiming a man from intemperance, may prolong his life, so it is not impossible but this public calamity that lies so heavy on the nation may prevent its ruin. It would certainly prove the greatest of blessings, if it should make all honest men of one party; if it should put religion and virtue in countenance, restore a sense of public spirit, and convince men it is a dangerous folly to pursue private aims in opposition to the good of their country; if it should turn our thought from cozenage and stock-jobbing to industry and frugal methods of life; in fine, if it should revive and inflame that native spark of British worth and honour, which hath too long lain smothered and oppressed.

With this view I have, among so many projects for remedying the ill state of our affairs in a particular instance, ventured to publish the foregoing hints, which as they have been thrown together from a zeal for the public good, so I heartily wish they may be regarded neither more nor less than as they are fitted to promote that end.

Though it must be owned that little can be hoped if we consider the corrupt degenerate age we live in. I know it is an old folly to make peevish complaints of the times, and charge the common failures of human nature on a particular age. One may nevertheless venture to affirm that the present hath brought forth new and portentous villainies, not to be paralleled in our own or any other history. We have been long preparing for some great catastrophe. Vice and villainy have by degrees grown reputable among us; our infidels have passed for fine gentlemen, and our venal traitors for men of sense, who knew the world. We have made a jest of public spirit[1], and cancelled all respect for whatever our laws and religion repute sacred. The old English modesty is quite worn off, and instead of blushing for our crimes, we are ashamed only of piety and virtue. In short, other nations have been wicked, but we are the first who have been wicked upon principle.

The truth is, our symptoms are so bad that, notwithstanding all the care and vigilance of the legislature, it is to be feared the final period of our State approaches. Strong constitutions, whether politic or natural, do not feel light disorders. But when they are sensibly affected, the distemper is for the most part violent and of an ill prognostic. Free governments like our own were planted by the Goths in most parts of Europe; and, though we all know what they are come to, yet we seem disposed rather to follow their example than to profit by it.

Whether it be in the order of things, that civil States should have, like natural products, their several periods of growth, perfection, and decay; or whether it be an effect, as seems more probable, of human folly that, as industry produces wealth, so wealth should produce vice, and vice ruin.

God grant the time be not near when men shall say:

[1] Cf. *Maxims concerning Patriotism*, 26.

'This island was once inhabited by a religious, brave, sincere people, of plain uncorrupt manners, respecting inbred worth rather than titles and appearances, assertors of liberty, lovers of their country, jealous of their own rights, and unwilling to infringe the rights of others; improvers of learning and useful arts, enemies to luxury, tender of other men's lives, and prodigal of their own; inferior in nothing to the old Greeks or Romans, and superior to each of those people in the perfections of the other. Such were our ancestors during their rise and greatness; but they degenerated, grew servile flatterers of men in power, adopted Epicurean notions, became venal, corrupt, injurious, which drew upon them the hatred of God and man, and occasioned their final ruin.'

SECOND PERIOD OF AUTHORSHIP

1722–1733

A PROPOSAL

FOR

THE BETTER SUPPLYING OF CHURCHES IN OUR FOREIGN PLANTATIONS

AND FOR

CONVERTING THE SAVAGE AMERICANS TO CHRISTIANITY

BY A COLLEGE TO BE ERECTED IN THE SUMMER ISLANDS OTHERWISE CALLED THE ISLES OF BERMUDAS

'The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few.'—LUKE x. 2.

First published in 1725

EDITOR'S PREFACE

TO THE

PROPOSAL FOR A COLLEGE IN BERMUDA

THE *Essay towards preventing the Ruin of Great Britain* shews Berkeley's state of mind in 1721, immediately after his return to London from his second residence in Italy. It is the lamentation of an ardent social idealist over the corrupt civilisation of Britain and the Old World. Soon after a social enterprise of romantic benevolence presented itself to his imagination. It appears in a letter to Lord Percival, dated in March, 1723, to whom he writes thus[1]: 'It is now about ten months since I have determined to spend the residue of my days in Bermuda; where I trust in Providence I may be the mean instrument of great good to mankind. The reformation of manners among the English in our Western Plantations, and the propagation of the gospel among the American savages, are two points of high moment. The natural way of doing this is by founding a College or Seminary in some convenient part of the West Indies, where the English youth of our Plantations may be educated in such sort as to supply their churches with pastors of good morals and good learning—a thing (God knows) much

[1] Percival MSS.

wanted. In the same Seminary a number of young American savages may be educated till they have taken the degree of Master of Arts. And being by that time well instructed in the Christian religion, practical mathematics, and other liberal arts and sciences, and early imbued with public-spirited principles and inclinations, they may become the fittest instruments for spreading religion, morals, and civil life among their countrymen, who can entertain no suspicion or jealousy of men of their own blood and language, as they might do of English missionaries, who can never be well qualified for that work.' He proceeds in the same letter to unfold this ideal of education for English colonists and American Indians, and gives reason for choosing Bermuda as the fittest situation for the College; a region whose idyllic bliss poets had sung, and from which Christian civilisation might radiate over the Utopia of a New World, with its magnificent possibilities in the future history of the human race.

We can only conjecture the origin in Berkeley's imagination of this bright vision. According to his own account it had arisen more than 'ten months' before the date of this letter to Lord Percival. That carries us back to the beginning of 1722, in his first months at Trinity College after long absence in Italy, when his heart was heavy on account of the social corruption brought to light after the South Sea disaster. It seems as if despair about the Old World had induced him to look to the New for the hopeful future of religious civilisation. America filled the imagination of one to whose vision was disclosed a spiritually prosperous future for mankind amidst new surroundings.

He had returned to Dublin in 1721, after the long leave of absence in Italy granted by Trinity College. Early in 1722 he was nominated Dean of Dromore. In 1723, Esther Vanhomrigh, Swift's 'Vanessa,' died, leaving him unexpectedly heir of £4,000. In 1724 he was promoted to the

Deanery of Londonderry, the best preferment in Ireland. All this he valued, not for his own sake, he says, but because it added to his influence as the apostle of Christian civilisation in America. To realise that dominant project, by attracting voluntary contributions, obtaining a Charter from the Crown for the proposed College, and a grant of money from Parliament, Berkeley went over to London in September, 1724, fortified by a letter[1] from Swift, then in Dublin, to Lord Carteret, at Bath, who was appointed to succeed the Duke of Grafton as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Swift thus describes Berkeley's previous career and his project:—

'There is a gentleman of this kingdom just gone for England. It is Dr. George Berkeley, Dean of Derry, the best preferment among us, being worth £1,100 a year. He was a Fellow of the University here; and going to England very young, about thirteen years ago, he became the founder of a sect called the *Immaterialists*, by the force of a very curious book upon that subject. Dr. Smalridge and many other eminent persons were his proselytes. I sent him secretary and chaplain to Sicily with my Lord Peterborough; and upon his Lordship's return, Dr. Berkeley spent above seven years in travelling over most parts of Europe[2], but chiefly through every corner of Italy, Sicily, and other islands. When he came back to England he found so many friends that he was effectually recommended to the Duke of Grafton, by whom he was lately made Dean of Derry.

'I am now to mention his errand. He is an absolute philosopher with regard to money, titles, and power; and for three years past has been struck with a notion of founding a University at Bermudas, by a Charter from the Crown. He has seduced several of the hopefullest young clergymen and others here, many of them well provided for,

[1] Dated September 3, 1724.

[2] This exaggerates the length and extent of his Second Tour on the Continent.

and all in the fairest way for preferment; but in England his conquests are greater, and I doubt will spread very far this winter. He shewed me a little tract, which he designs to publish; and there your Excellency will see his whole scheme of a life academico-philosophical, of a College founded for Indian scholars and missionaries; where he most exorbitantly proposes a whole hundred pounds a year for himself, fifty pounds for a Fellow, and ten for a Student. His heart will break if his Deanery be not taken from him, and left to your Excellency's disposal. I discouraged him by the coldness of Courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible and a vision; but nothing will do. And therefore I humbly entreat your Excellency, either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in the kingdom for learning and virtue quiet at home, or assist him by your credit to compass his romantic design; which, however, is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a great person of your excellent education to encourage.'

For four years after the date of this letter, Berkeley lived in London, negotiating and otherwise ardently pressing forward his enterprise. The 'little tract' which he carried from Dublin was published in the form of the following *Proposal*, in 1725, in London, 'printed by H. Woodfall, at Elzevir's Head, without Temple Bar.'

The *Proposal* was republished in 1752, in Berkeley's *Miscellany*.

A PROPOSAL FOR A COLLEGE IN BERMUDA

Although there are several excellent persons of the Church of England, whose good intentions and endeavours have not been wanting to propagate the Gospel in foreign parts, who have even combined into Societies for that very purpose[1], and given great encouragement, not only for English missionaries in the West Indies, but also for the reformed of other nations, led by their example, to propagate Christianity in the East; it is nevertheless acknowledged that there is at this day but little sense of religion, and a most notorious corruption of manners, in the English Colonies settled on the Continent of America, and the Islands. It is also acknowledged that the gospel hath hitherto made but a very inconsiderable progress among the neighbouring Americans, who still continue in much the same ignorance and barbarism in which we found them above a hundred years ago.

I shall therefore venture to submit my thoughts, upon a point that I have long considered, to better judgments, in hopes that any expedient will be favourably hearkened to which is proposed for the remedy of these evils. Now, in order to effect this, it should seem the natural proper method to provide, in the first place, a constant supply of worthy clergymen for the English churches in those parts; and, in the second place, a like constant supply of zealous missionaries, well fitted for propagating Christianity among the savages.

For, though the surest means to reform the morals, and soften the behaviour of men be, to preach to them the pure uncorrupt doctrine of the gospel, yet it cannot be denied that the success of preaching dependeth in good

[1] The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in 1701.

measure on the character and skill of the preacher. Forasmuch as mankind are more apt to copy characters than to practise precepts, and forasmuch as argument, to attain its full strength, doth not less require the life of zeal than the weight of reason; the same doctrine which maketh great impression when delivered with decency and address loseth very much of its force by passing through awkward or unskilful hands.

Now the clergy sent over to America have proved, too many of them, very meanly qualified both in learning and morals for the discharge of their office. And indeed little can be expected from the example or instruction of those who quit their native country on no other motive than that they are unable to procure a livelihood in it, which is known to be often the case.

To this may be imputed the small care that hath been taken to convert the negroes of our Plantations, who, to the infamy of England and scandal of the world, continue heathen under Christian masters, and in Christian countries. Which could never be, if our planters were rightly instructed and made sensible that they disappointed their own baptism by denying it to those who belong to them; that it would be of advantage to their affairs to have slaves who should 'obey in all things their masters according to the flesh, not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, as fearing God;' that gospel liberty consists with temporal servitude; and that their slaves would only become better slaves by being Christian.

And though it be allowed that some of the clergy in our Colonies have approved themselves men of merit, it will at the same time be allowed that the most zealous and able missionary from England must find himself but ill qualified for converting the American heathen; if we consider the difference of language, their wild way of living, and, above all, the great jealousy and prejudice which savage nations have towards foreigners, or innovations introduced by them.

These considerations make it evident, that a College or Seminary in those parts is very much wanted: and therefore the providing such a Seminary is earnestly proposed and recommended to all those who have it in their power

to contribute to so good a work. By this, two ends would be obtained :—

First, the youth of our English Plantations might be themselves fitted for the ministry; and men of merit would be then glad to fill the churches of their native country, which are now a drain for the very dregs and refuse of ours.

At present, there are, I am told, many churches vacant in our Plantations, and many very ill supplied; nor can all the vigilance and wisdom of that great prelate [1], whose peculiar care it is, prevent this, so long as the aforesaid churches are supplied from England.

And supplied they must be with such as can be picked up in England or Ireland, until a Nursery of learning for the education of the natives is founded. This indeed might provide a constant succession of learned and exemplary pastors; and what effect this might be supposed to have on their flocks I need not say.

Secondly, the children of savage Americans, brought up in such a Seminary, and well instructed in religion and learning, might make the ablest and properest missionaries for spreading the gospel among their countrymen; who would be less apt to suspect, and readier to embrace a doctrine recommended by neighbours or relations, men of their own blood and language, than if it were proposed by foreigners; who would not improbably be thought to have designs on the liberty or property of their converts.

The young Americans necessary for this purpose may, in the beginning, be procured, either by peaceable methods from those savage nations which border on our Colonies, and are in friendship with us, or by taking captive the children of our enemies.

It is proposed to admit into the aforesaid College only such savages as are under ten years of age, before evil habits have taken a deep root; and yet not so early as to prevent retaining their mother-tongue, which should be preserved by intercourse among themselves.

It is farther proposed to ground these young Americans thoroughly in religion and morality, and to give them

[1] The Bishop of London, Dr. Gibson, author of the *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani* (1713).

a good tincture of other learning; particularly of eloquence, history, and practical mathematics; to which it may not be improper to add some skill in physic.

If there were a yearly supply of ten or a dozen such missionaries sent abroad into their respective countries, after they had received the degree of master of arts in the aforesaid College, and holy orders in England (till such time as Episcopacy be established in those parts[1]), it is hardly to be doubted but, in a little time, the world would see good and great effects thereof.

For, to any considering man, the employing American missionaries for the conversion of America will, of all others, appear the most likely method to succeed; especially if care be taken that, during the whole course of their education, an eye should be had to their mission; that they should be taught betimes to consider themselves as trained up in that sole view, without any other prospect of provision or employment; that a zeal for religion and love of their country should be early and constantly instilled into their minds, by repeated lectures and admonitions; that they should not only be incited by the common topics of religion and nature, but farther animated and inflamed by the great examples in past ages of public spirit and virtue, to rescue their countrymen from their savage manners to a life of civility and religion.

If his Majesty would graciously please to grant a Charter for a College to be erected in a proper place for these uses, it is to be hoped a fund may be soon raised, by the contribution of well-disposed persons, sufficient for building and endowing the same. For, as the necessary expense would be small, so there are men of religion and humanity in England, who would be pleased to see any design set forward for the glory of God and the good of mankind.

A small expense would suffice to subsist and educate the American missionaries in a plain simple manner, such as might make it easy for them to return to the coarse and poor methods of life in use among their countrymen; and

[1] Dr. Seabury of Connecticut was the first Bishop. He was consecrated in 1784 by Bishops of the Church in Scotland.

nothing can contribute more to lessen this expense, than a judicious choice of the situation where the Seminary is to stand.

Many things ought to be considered in the choice of a situation. It should be in a good air; in a place where provisions are cheap and plenty; where an intercourse might easily be kept up with all parts of America and the Islands; in a place of security, not exposed to the insults of pirates, savages, or other enemies; where there is no great trade, which might tempt the Readers or Fellows of the College to become merchants, to the neglect of their proper business; where there are neither riches nor luxury to divert or lessen their application, or to make them uneasy and dissatisfied with a homely frugal subsistence; lastly, where the inhabitants, if such a place may be found, are noted for innocence and simplicity of manners. I need not say of how great importance this point would be towards forming the morals of young students, and what mighty influence it must have on the mission.

It is evident the College long since projected in Barbadoes[1] would be defective in many of these particulars. For, though it may have its use among the inhabitants, yet a place of so high trade, so much wealth and luxury, and such dissolute morals (not to mention the great price and scarcity of provisions) must, at first sight, seem a very improper situation for a general Seminary intended for the forming missionaries, and educating youth in religion and sobriety of manners. The same objections lie against the neighbouring islands.

And, if we consider the accounts given of their avarice and licentiousness, their coldness in the practice of religion, and their aversion from propagating it (which appears in the withholding their slaves from baptism), it is to be feared, that the inhabitants in the populous parts of our Plantations on the Continent are not much fitter than those in the islands above mentioned, to influence or assist such a design. And, as to the more remote and less-frequented parts, the difficulty of being supplied with necessaries, the danger of being exposed to the inroads

[1] By General Codrington, who died in Barbadoes in 1710, leaving his estates to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for the foundation of a College there.

of savages, and, above all, the want of intercourse with other places, render them improper situations for a Seminary of religion and learning.

It will not be amiss to insert here an observation I remember to have seen in an Abstract of the Proceedings, &c., annexed to the Dean of Canterbury's[1] Sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts—that the savage Indians who live on the Continent will not suffer their children to learn English or Dutch, lest they should be debauched by conversing with their European neighbours; which is a melancholy but strong confirmation of the truth of what hath been now advanced.

A general intercourse and correspondence with all the English Colonies, both on the Islands and the Continent, and with other parts of America, hath been before laid down as a necessary circumstance, the reason whereof is very evident. But this circumstance is hardly to be found. For, on the Continent, where there are neither inns, nor carriages, nor bridges over the rivers, there is no travelling by land between distant places. And the English settlements are reputed to extend along the sea-coast for the space of fifteen hundred miles. It is therefore plain there can be no convenient communication between them otherwise than by sea; no advantage therefore, in this point, can be gained by settling on the Continent.

There is another consideration which equally regards the Continent and the Islands, that the general course of trade and correspondence lies from all those Colonies to Great Britain alone. Whereas, for our present purpose, it would be necessary to pitch upon a place, if such could be found, which maintains a constant intercourse with all the other Colonies, and whose commerce lies chiefly or altogether (not in Europe, but) in America.

There is but one spot that I can find to which this circumstance agrees; and that is, the Isles of Bermuda, otherwise called the Summer Islands[2]. These, having no

[1] Dr. George Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury, preached the annual Sermon before the Society, on February 19, 1714.

[2] These islands, equidistant between the West Indies and British North America, and about six hundred miles from the Continent, now associated with the bright vision of Berkeley, were the dread of sailors. They are called Summer Islands from Sir

rich commodity or manufacture, such as sugar, tobacco, or the like, wherewithal to trade to England, are obliged to become carriers for America, as the Dutch are for Europe. The Bermudans are excellent shipwrights and sailors, and have a great number of very good sloops, which are always passing and repassing from all parts of America. They drive a constant trade to the islands of Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antigua, &c., with butter, onions, cabbages, and other roots and vegetables, which they have in great plenty and perfection. They have also some small manufactures of joiner's work and matting, which they export to the Plantations on the Continent. Hence Bermudan sloops are oftener seen in the ports of America than in any other. And, indeed, by the best information I could get, it appears they are the only people of all the British Plantations who hold a general correspondence with the rest.

And as the commerce of Bermuda renders it a very fit place wherein to erect a Seminary, so likewise doth its situation, it being placed between our Plantations on the Continent and those in the Isles, so as equally to respect both. To which may be added, that it lies in the way of vessels passing from America to Great Britain; all which makes it plain that the youth to be educated in a Seminary placed in the Summer Islands would have frequent opportunities of going thither and corresponding with their friends. It must indeed be owned that some will be obliged to go a long way to any one place which we suppose resorted to from all parts of our Plantations; but if we were to look out a spot the nearest approaching to an

George Summers (or Somers), who was wrecked there in 1609. He and his comrades were charmed by their place of refuge. Bermuda became famed for its delightful climate. The poet Waller, after his condemnation by Parliament, is said to have passed months in 1643 in Bermuda, which, in his *Battle of the Summer Islands*, he has described with enthusiasm, as enjoying perpetual spring, and offering the most beautiful residence in the world. And Andrew Marvell, in his poem *Bermudas*, celebrates the

> . . . 'isle so long unknown,
> And yet far kinder than our own,'

with its grateful shelter,

> 'Safe from the storms, and prelates' rage.'

Shakespeare, too, as well as Waller and Marvell, helps to invest this romantic region with a halo of imagination. See *Tempest*, Act i. Scene 2—'the still-vex'd Bermoothes.'

equal distance from all the rest, I believe it would be found to be Bermuda. It remains that we see whether it enjoys the other qualities or conditions laid down as well as this.

The Summer Islands are situated near the latitude of thirty-three degrees; no part of the world enjoys a purer air, or a more temperate climate, the great ocean which environs them at once moderating the heat of the south winds, and the severity of the north-west. Such a latitude on the Continent might be thought too hot; but the air in Bermuda is perpetually fanned and kept cool by sea-breezes, which render the weather the most healthy and delightful that could be wished, being (as is affirmed by persons who have long lived there) of one equal tenor almost throughout the whole year, like the latter end of a fine May; insomuch that it is resorted to as the Montpelier of America.

Nor are these isles (if we may believe the accounts given of them) less remarkable for plenty than for health; there being, besides beef, mutton, and fowl, great abundance of fruits, and garden-stuff of all kinds in perfection: to this, if we add the great plenty and variety of fish which is every day taken on their coasts, it would seem, that a Seminary could nowhere be supplied with better provisions, or cheaper than here.

About forty years ago, upon cutting down many tall cedars that sheltered their orange-trees from the north wind (which sometimes blows even there so as to affect that delicate plant), great part of their orange plantations suffered; but other cedars are since grown up, and no doubt a little industry would again produce as great plenty of oranges as ever was there heretofore. I mention this because some have inferred from the present scarcity of that fruit, for which Bermuda was once so famous, that there hath been a change in the soil and climate for the worse. But this, as hath been observed, proceeded from another cause, which is now in great measure taken away.

Bermuda is a cluster of small islands, which lie in a very narrow compass, containing, in all, not quite twenty thousand acres. This group of isles is (to use Mr. Waller's expression [1]) walled round with rocks, which render them

[1] 'Bermuda, wall'd with rocks, who does not know?
That happy island where huge lemons grow,

inaccessible to pirates or enemies; there being but two narrow entrances, both well guarded by forts. It would therefore be impossible to find anywhere a more secure retreat for students.

The trade of Bermuda consists only in garden-stuff, and some poor manufactures, principally of cedar and the palmetto-leaf. Bermuda hats are worn by our ladies: they are made of a sort of mat, or (as they call it) platting made of the palmetto-leaf, which is the only commodity that I can find exported from Bermuda to Great Britain; and as there is no prospect of making a fortune by this small trade, so it cannot be supposed to tempt the Fellows of the College to engage in it, to the neglect of their peculiar business, which might possibly be the case elsewhere.

Such as their trade is, such is their wealth; the inhabitants being much poorer than the other Colonies, who do not fail to despise them upon that account. But, if they have less wealth, they have withal less vice and expensive folly than their neighbours. They are represented as a contented, plain, innocent sort of people, free from avarice and luxury, as well as the other corruptions that attend those vices.

I am also informed that they are more constant attendants on Divine service, more kind and respectful to their pastor (when they have one), and shew much more humanity to their slaves, and charity to one another, than is observed among the English in the other Plantations. One reason of this may be that condemned criminals, being employed in the manufactures of sugar and tobacco, were never transported thither. But, whatever be the cause, the facts are attested by a clergyman of good credit, who lived among them.

Among a people of this character, and in a situation thus circumstantiated, it would seem that a Seminary of religion and learning might very fitly be placed. The correspondence with other parts of America, the goodness

> And orange-trees, which golden fruit do bear,
> Th' Hesperian garden boasts of none so fair;
> Where shining pearl, coral, and many a pound,
> On the rich shore, of ambergris is found.'
>
> Waller's *Battle of the Summer Islands*.

of the air, the plenty and security of the place, the frugality and innocence of the inhabitants, all conspiring to favour such a design. Thus much at least is evident, that young students would be there less liable to be corrupted in their morals; and the governing part would be easier, and better contented with a small stipend, and a retired academical life, in a corner from whence avarice and luxury are excluded, than they can be supposed to be in the midst of a full trade and great riches, attended with all that high living and parade which our planters affect, and which, as well as all fashionable vices, should be far removed from the eyes of the young American missionaries, who are to lead a life of poverty and self-denial among their countrymen.

After all, it must be acknowledged, that though everything else should concur with our wishes, yet if a set of good Governors and Teachers be wanting, who are acquainted with the methods of education, and have the zeal and ability requisite for carrying on a design of this nature, it would certainly come to nothing.

An institution of this kind should be set on foot by men of prudence, spirit, and zeal, as well as competent learning, who should be led to it by other motives than the necessity of picking up a maintenance. For, upon this view, what man of merit can be supposed to quit his native country, and take up with a poor college subsistence in another part of the world, where there are so many considerable parishes actually void, and so many others ill supplied for want of fitting incumbents? Is it likely that Fellowships of fifty or sixty pounds a year should tempt abler or worthier men than benefices of many times their value?

And except able and worthy men do first engage in this affair, with a resolution to exert themselves in forming the manners of the youth, and giving them a proper education, it is evident the Mission and the College will be but in a very bad way. This inconvenience seems the most difficult to provide against, and if not provided against, it will be the most likely to obstruct any design of this nature. So true it is, that where ignorance or ill manners once take place in a Seminary, they are sure

to be handed down in a succession of illiterate or worthless men.

But this apprehension, which seems so well grounded, that a College in any part of America would either lie unprovided, or be worse provided than their churches are, hath no place in Bermuda; there being at this time several gentlemen, in all respects very well qualified, and in possession of good preferments and fair prospects at home, who, having seriously considered the great benefits that may arise to the Church and to Mankind from such an undertaking, are ready to engage in it, and to dedicate the remainder of their lives to the instructing the youth of America, and prosecuting their own studies, upon a very moderate subsistence, in a retirement, so sweet and so secure, and every way so well fitted for a place of education and study, as Bermuda.

Thus much the writer hereof thought himself obliged to say of his associates. For himself he can only say that, as he values no preferment upon earth so much as that of being employed in the execution of this design, so he hopes to make up for other defects, by the sincerity of his endeavours.

In Europe, the Protestant religion hath of late years considerably lost ground, and America seems the likeliest place wherein to make up for what hath been lost in Europe, provided the proper methods are taken. Otherwise the Spanish missionaries in the south, and the French in the north, are making such a progress, as may one day spread the religion of Rome, and with it the usual hatred to Protestants, throughout all the savage nations of America; which would probably end in the utter extirpation of our Colonies, on the safety whereof depends so much of the nation's wealth, and so considerable a branch of his Majesty's revenue.

But, if this scheme were pursued, it would in all probability have much greater influence on the Americans than the utmost endeavours of popish emissaries can possibly have; who, from the difference of country, language, and interest, must lie under far greater difficulties and discouragements than those whom we suppose yearly sent out from Bermuda to preach among their countrymen.

It cannot indeed be denied, that the great number of poor regulars, inured to hard living, and brought up in an implicit obedience to their superiors, hath hitherto given the Church of Rome, in regard to her missions, great advantage over the reformed churches. But, from what hath been said, it is, I think, evident, that this advantage may be overbalanced by our employing American missionaries.

Nor is the honour of the crown, nation, and church of England, unconcerned in this scheme; which, it is to be hoped, will remove the reproach we have so long lain under, that we fall as far short of our neighbours of the Romish communion in zeal for propagating religion, as we surpass them in the soundness and purity of it. And at the same time that the doing what may be so easily done takes away our reproach, it will cast no small lustre on his Majesty's reign, and derive a blessing from Heaven on his administration, and those who live under the influence thereof.

Men of narrow minds have a peculiar talent at objection, being never at a loss for something to say against whatsoever is not of their own proposing. And perhaps it will be said, in opposition to this proposal, that if we thought ourselves capable of gaining converts to the Church, we ought to begin with infidels, papists, and dissenters of all denominations, at home, and to make proselytes of these before we think of foreigners; and that therefore our scheme is against duty. And, farther, that, considering the great opposition which is found on the part of those who differ from us at home, no success can be expected among savages abroad; and that therefore it is against reason and experience.

In answer to this, I say, that religion like light is imparted without being diminished. That whatever is done abroad can be no hindrance or let to the conversion of infidels or others at home. That those who engage in this affair imagine they will not be missed, where there is no want of schools or clergy; but that they may be of singular service in countries but thinly supplied with either, or altogether deprived of both: that our Colonies being of the same blood, language, and religion, with

ourselves, are in effect our countrymen. But that Christian charity, not being limited by those regards, doth extend to all mankind. And this may serve for an answer to the first point, that our design is against duty.

To the second point I answer, that ignorance is not so incurable as error; that you must pull down as well as build, erase as well as imprint, in order to make proselytes at home: whereas, the savage Americans, if they are in a state purely natural, and unimproved by education, they are also unincumbered with all that rubbish of superstition and prejudice, which is the effect of a wrong one. As they are less instructed, they are withal less conceited, and more teachable. And not being violently attached to any false system of their own, are so much the fitter to receive that which is true. Hence it is evident that success abroad ought not to be measured by that which we observe at home, and that the inference which was made from the difficulty of the one to the impossibility of the other, is altogether groundless.

It hath more the appearance of reason to object (what will possibly be objected by some) that this scheme hath been already tried to no purpose, several Indians having returned to their savage manners after they had been taught to write and read, and instructed in the Christian religion; a clear proof that their natural stupidity is not to be overcome by education.

In answer to this, I say, that the scheme now proposed hath never been tried, forasmuch as a thorough education in religion and morality, in Divine and human learning, doth not appear to have been ever given to any savage American: that much is to be hoped from a man ripe in years, and well grounded in religion and useful knowledge, while little or nothing can be expected from a youth but slightly instructed in the elements of either: that from the miscarriage or gross stupidity of some, a general incapacity of all Americans cannot be fairly inferred: that they shew as much natural sense as other uncultivated nations: that the empires of Mexico and Peru were evident proofs of their capacity, in which there appeared a relish of politics and a degree of art and politeness, which no European people were ever known to have arrived at without the use of letters or of iron, and

which some perhaps have fallen short of with both those advantages.

To what hath been said, it may not be improper to add, that young Americans, educated in an island at some distance from their own country, will more easily be kept under discipline till they have attained a complete education, than on the continent; where they might find opportunities of running away to their countrymen, and returning to their brutal customs, before they were thoroughly imbued with good principles and habits.

It must, nevertheless, be acknowledged a difficult attempt to plant religion among the Americans, so long as they continue their wild and roving life. He who is obliged to hunt for his daily food, will have little curiosity or leisure to receive instruction. It would seem therefore the right way, to introduce religion and civil life at the same time into that part of the world: either attempt will assist and promote the other. Those therefore of the young savages, who upon trial are found less likely to improve by academical studies, may be taught agriculture, or the most necessary trades. And when husbandmen, weavers, carpenters, and the like, have planted those useful arts among their savage countrymen, and taught them to live in settled habitations, to canton out their land and till it, to provide vegetable food of all kinds, to preserve flocks and herds of cattle, to make convenient houses, and to clothe themselves decently: this will assist the spreading the Gospel among them; this will dispose them to social virtues, and enable them to see and to feel the advantages of a religious and civil education.

And that this view of propagating the Gospel and civil life among the savage nations of America, was a principal motive which induced the crown to send the first English Colonies thither, doth appear from the Charter[1] granted by King James I to the adventurers in Virginia. (See Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. iv. bk. i. c. 9.) And it is now but

[1] The Charter was granted by the King, because 'so noble a work may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages (living in those parts) to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government.'

just (what might then seem charitable), that these poor creatures should receive some advantage with respect to their spiritual interests from those who have so much improved their temporal by settling among them.

It is most true, notwithstanding our present corruptions, that there are to be found in no country under the sun men of better inclinations, or greater abilities for doing good, than in England. But it is as true that success, in many cases, depends not upon zeal, industry, wealth, learning, or the like faculties, so much as on the method wherein these are applied. We often see a small proportion of labour and expense in one way bring that about, which in others a much greater share of both could never effect. It hath been my endeavour to discover this way or method in the present case. What hath been done, I submit to the judgment of all good and reasonable men; who, I am persuaded, will never reject or discourage a proposal of this nature, on the score of slight objections, surmises, or difficulties, and thereby render themselves chargeable with the having prevented those good effects which might otherwise have been produced by it.

For it is, after all, possible, that unforeseen difficulties may arise in the prosecution of this design; many things may retard, and many things may threaten to obstruct it. But there is hardly any enterprise or scheme whatsoever, for the public good, in which difficulties are not often shewing themselves, and as often overcome by the blessing of God upon the prudence and resolution of the undertakers; though, for aught that appears, the present scheme is as likely to succeed, and attended with as few difficulties, as any of this kind can possibly be.

For, to any man who considers the Divine power of religion, the innate force of reason and virtue, and the mighty effects often wrought by the constant regular operations even of a weak and small cause; it will seem natural and reasonable to suppose, that rivulets perpetually issuing forth from a fountain or reservoir of learning and religion, and streaming through all parts of America, must in due time have a great effect, in purging away the ill manners and irreligion of our Colonies, as well as the blindness and barbarity of the nations round them:

especially if the reservoir be in a clean and private place, where its waters, out of the way of anything that may corrupt them, remain clear and pure; otherwise they are more likely to pollute than purify the places through which they flow.

The greatness of a benefaction is rather in proportion to the number and want of the receivers than to the liberality of the giver. A wise and good man would therefore be frugal in the management of his charity: that is, contrive it so that it might extend to the greatest wants of the greatest number of his fellow creatures. Now the greatest wants are spiritual wants, and by all accounts these are nowhere greater than in our Western Plantations, in many parts whereof Divine service is never performed for want of clergymen; in others, after such a manner and by such hands as scandalise even the worst of their own parishioners; where many English, instead of gaining converts, are themselves degenerated into heathens, being members of no church, without morals, without faith, without baptism. There can be, therefore, in no part of the Christian world a greater want of spiritual things than in our Plantations.

And, on the other hand, no part of the Gentile world are so inhuman and barbarous as the savage Americans, whose chief employment and delight consisting in cruelty and revenge; their lives must of all others be most opposite, as well to the light of nature as to the spirit of the Gospel. Now, to reclaim these poor wretches, to prevent the many torments and cruel deaths which they daily inflict on each other, to contribute in any sort to put a stop to the numberless horrid crimes which they commit without remorse, and instead thereof to introduce the practice of virtue and piety, must surely be a work in the highest degree becoming every sincere and charitable Christian.

Those who wish well to religion and mankind will need no other motive to forward an undertaking calculated for the service of both. I shall, nevertheless, beg leave to observe, that whoever would be glad to cover a multitude of sins by an extensive and well-judged charity, or whoever, from an excellent and godlike temper of mind, seeks opportunities of doing good in his generation, will be

pleased to meet with a scheme that so peculiarly puts it in his power, with small trouble or expense, to procure a great and lasting benefit to the world.

Ten pounds a year would (if I mistake not) be sufficient to defray the expense of a young American in the College of Bermuda, as to diet, lodging, clothes, books, and education: and if so, the interest of two hundred pounds may be a perpetual fund for maintaining one missionary at the College for ever; and in this succession many, it is to be hoped, may become powerful instruments for converting to Christianity and civil life whole nations who now 'sit in darkness and the shadow of death,' and whose cruel brutal manners are a disgrace to human nature.

A benefaction of this kind seems to enlarge the very being of a man, extending it to distant places and to future times; inasmuch as unseen countries and after ages may feel the effects of his bounty, while he himself reaps the reward in the blessed society of all those, who, having turned 'many to righteousness, shine as the stars for ever and ever.'

[PS. [1] Since the foregoing *Proposal* was first made public, his Majesty hath been graciously pleased to grant a Charter [2] for erecting a College, by the name of St. Paul's College in Bermuda, for the uses above mentioned. Which College is to contain a President and nine Fellows. The first President appointed by charter is George Berkeley, D.D., and Dean of Derry. The three Fellows named in the charter are William Thompson, Jonathan Rogers, and James King, Masters of Arts and Fellows of Trinity College near Dublin [3]. The nomination of a President is reserved to the Crown. The election of Fellows is vested in the President and the majority of the Fellows; as is

[1] This PS. was added in 1725, in the later issues of the *Proposal*, and is contained in the reprint in the *Miscellany*.

[2] The Charter was granted in 1725. The difficulties and disappointments which Berkeley afterwards encountered, and the spirit in which he met them, appear in his letters to Thomas Prior in that and the three following years. See my *Life and Correspondence* of Berkeley, pp. 110–50.

[3] Thompson, Rogers, and King had been elected Fellows of Trinity; the first in 1713, the second in 1716, and the third in 1720.

likewise the government of the Society. The Lord Bishop of London for the time being is appointed Visitor; and such of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State for the time being as hath America in his province is appointed Chancellor of the said College. The President and Fellows have the power of making Statutes, to be approved by the Visitor: they have also the power of conferring Degrees in all Faculties. They are obliged to maintain and educate Indian Scholars at the rate of ten pound per annum for each. They are obliged to transmit annual accounts of the state of the College, number of students, their progress, &c. to the Chancellor and Visitor. The aforesaid President and Fellows are licensed to hold their preferments in these Kingdoms till one year and a half be expired after their arrival in Bermuda. This Society is incorporated with the usual clauses, hath power to receive benefactions, purchase lands, keep a common seal, &c. Lastly, all in office under his Majesty are required to be aiding and assisting to the protection and preservation thereof[1].]

[1] The following paragraph in the 1725 edition is omitted in the reprint of 1752 :—'As this College is proposed to be built and endowed by charitable contributions and subscriptions, all well-disposed persons, whether of the laity or the clergy, are desired to assist, as opportunity shall offer, in forwarding and collecting the same without loss of time; to the end that the President and Fellows may be able to set out for Bermuda in next Spring; which is proposed in case provision can be made by that time of £60 per annum for each. And it is hoped that the charity and zeal of sincere Christians will not suffer a design of this nature to be disappointed for want of necessary provision. The contributions and subscriptions aforesaid may be deposited in the hands of any of the persons hereafter named:—John Arbuthnot, M.D., in Coke Street; Rev. Martin Benson, Archdeacon of Berkshire and Prebendary of Durham, in Albemarle Street; Francis Child, Esq., Banker in Fleet Street, and Alderman of the City of London; Rev. Dr. Cobden, chaplain to the Lord Bishop of London, at Fulham; Sir Clement Cotterel, Bart., in Dover Street; Sir Thomas Crosse, Kt., in Westminster; Sir Daniel Dolins, Kt., at Hackney; Thomas Green, Esq., in Westminster; Rev. Mr. Hargrave, chaplain to the Duke of Newcastle and Prebendary of Westminster; Edward Harley, Esq., auditor of Imposts in Lincoln's Inn; Benj. and Henry Hoare, Esqs., Bankers in Fleet Street; Archibald Hutcheson in James Street, near Golden Square; Rev. Dr. King, Master of the Charterhouse, and first chaplain to the Lord Chancellor; Rev. Dr. Lisle, Rector of Bow, and chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury; Rev. Dr. Lupton,

Prebendary of Durham, Preacher at Lincoln's Inn; Rev. Dr. Marshall, Rector of Foster Lane, and Prebendary of Windsor; Rev. Dr. Mayo, Treasurer to the S. P. C. K., at St. Thomas's Hospital, in Southwark; Rev. Dr. Moss, Dean of Ely, Preacher at Gray's Inn; Rev. Dr. Pelling, Rector of St. Ann's, Soho; Rev. Dr. Pierce, Vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields; Hon. Augustus Schutz, Master of the Wardrobe; Rev. Dr. Sherlock, Dean of Chichester, and Master of the Temple; Sir William Wentworth, Bart., at Clarges Street. The money received by these gentlemen is to be laid out in purchasing lands or perpetual annuities for the endowment of the College, and in building and providing necessaries for the same, by order, or with the approbation of His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Right Hon. Peter, Lord King, High Chancellor of Great Britain, His Grace the Duke of Newcastle (Secretary of State for the Plantations in America), and the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of London, who have been pleased to accept the office of Trustees or Overseers of so useful a Charity. N.B. Till such time as the contributions and subscriptions amount to a sum sufficient for providing five persons with the above-mentioned salaries of £60 each per annum, the Subscribers shall not be desired to pay in their money.'

VERSES

ON THE

PROSPECT OF PLANTING ARTS AND LEARNING

IN

AMERICA[1]

The Muse, disgusted at an age and clime
  Barren of every glorious theme,
In distant lands now waits a better time,
  Producing subjects worthy fame:

In happy climes, where from the genial sun
  And virgin earth such scenes ensue,
The force of art by nature seems outdone,
  And fancied beauties by the true:

In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
  Where nature guides and virtue rules,
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
  The pedantry of courts and schools:

[1] Published in the *Miscellany* in 1752. The time at which they were written has been disputed. In the *Rhode Island Historical Collections*, III. 36, it is said that they were composed when Berkeley lived there, in 1729 31.

But on Feb. 10, 1726, Berkeley writes from London to Lord Percival: 'You have annexed a poem wrote by a friend of mine with a view to the [Bermuda] Scheme. Your lordship is desired to shew it to none but of your family, and allow no copy to be taken of it.' 'America; or the Muse's Refuge: A Prophecy in Six Verses.'

The opening verse of the "annexed poem" reads thus:—

The Muse, offended at the age, these climes
  Where nought she found fit to rehearse,
Waits now in distant lands for better times,
  Producing subjects worthy verse.

The other verses follow as above.

This is conclusive as to the date of composition.

There shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
By future poets shall be sung.

Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The four first Acts already past,
A fifth shall close the Drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

NOTES OF SERMONS

PREACHED AT

NEWPORT IN RHODE ISLAND AND IN THE NARRAGANSETT COUNTRY

IN 1729-31

First published in 1871

EDITOR'S PREFACE

TO

NOTES OF SERMONS

Soon after Berkeley and his friends had landed at Newport, in January, 1729, he moved to a sequestered spot in the interior of the island, where he bought a farm, and built a house, which he named Whitehall, in loyal memory of the palace in London. Whitehall is about three miles from Newport, the capital of the little island in which for nearly three years Berkeley waited in vain for the fulfilment of Walpole's promise, and the expected grant of money for the Bermuda College. On the first Sunday after his arrival in the island, he preached at Newport, in Trinity Church, for ever associated with his mission of romantic philanthropy. The following rough Notes of some of his Sermons in America are among the MSS. which descended to the late Archdeacon Rose. They were delivered in Newport, and occasionally in the surrounding country of Narragansett, in the churches of the missionaries with whom Berkeley had friendly intercourse during his studious life in Rhode Island.

The *Notes of Sermons* suggest not a little that is characteristic of Berkeley, in their delicate criticism of New England life at the time; its often petty sectarianism and puritanic rigidity in minor morals; its vices of a sort apt to beset a grave and temperate people; detraction, which would not steal sixpence, but would rob a neighbour of his reputation; without relish for wine, yet with itching ears for scandal; apt to judge, but without sufficient

inquiry; readiness to report evil of others; pride and ill-nature, two vices especially rebuked by Christ; malignity of spirit, eating like an ulcer in the nobler parts, age which cures sensual vices, yet leaving this to grow with age; imposing on others and even on themselves as religion, what really proceeds from ill-will to men; religion which moves to love, made the occasion of hatred; circumstances or accidents in religion valued more than its essence; with great realities presented to our view, yet indisposed to overlook petty differences, and to see in God the common Father of men; quarrelling about small things in which men must differ, instead of practising large virtues about which they ought to be agreed. Such was the spirit of Berkeley, and this the form of his social ethic, in a community of 'many sorts and subdivisions of sects, four sorts of Anabaptists, besides Presbyterians, Quakers, Independents, and many of no profession at all.' 'They were all agreed in one point,' he says, 'that the Church of England is the second best;' and they all came to regard him with respect and love. 'All sects,' we are told, 'rushed to hear him, and the Quakers with their broad-brimmed hats came and stood in the aisles.'

The organ which Berkeley presented to the church in Newport is still standing, with an inscription on the gallery in front, which expresses the appreciation with which the gift was received. His house at Whitehall was a place of meeting for the missionaries in the surrounding country — Johnson, Honeyman, Macsparran, Cutler, and others — sent by the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. They were his occasional guests, and we are told that meetings were held, at which, among other advice, Berkeley emphatically urged the duty of conciliating the affection of the community, especially the Nonconformists.

NOTES OF SERMONS

I.

PREACHED AT NEWPORT, JAN. 26, 1729. IN THE NARRAGANSETT COUNTRY, MAY 11, 1729.

LUKE XVI. 16.

The Law and the Prophets were until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached.

1 COR. I. 21.

For after that in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.

I.

1. Body and soul: provision for the former in nourishment, defence, comfort.

2. Like provision for wellbeing of the soul: from the goodness and wisdom of God; from the excellency of the soul; from our natural appetite of happiness eternal; from the text.

3. Mean and progress of Providence herein. Wisdom or law of God twofold, nature and revelation.

II.

1. Light of nature sheweth the being of a God. His worship inward by meditation and imitation; outward by prayer and praise; also by performing His will, which known from conscience and inward feeling.

2. Great men under natural religion. Authority of revealed religion depends upon it, as to the veracity of God, and nature of things revealed.

3. Being of God: distinction of moral good and evil; rewards and punishments; foundations, substance, life of all religion; and first to be considered.

4. Vice, indolence, vanity obstructed n. [natural] religion. Some wise men, but wanted authority. Ignorance, brutality, idolatry of the heathen.

5. Revelation: 1. to particulars, Noah, Abraham, Job; 2. to the Jewish nation.

III.

1. Things at the worst; God exerts, singles out a despised people without law, leader, or country; asserts them by force and miracles; conducts them; gives them a law; makes them His peculiar people; entrusts them with the truth.

2. Jewish law provides against idolatry and corruption of manners; natural religion comprised in the decalogue; one God to be worshipped without image basis of the whole.

3. After the golden calf rites instituted; to prevent idolatry; to keep from mixing; to typifie; to insinuate mercy; and for other reasons unknown.

4. Jewish law not designed to be perfect; nor for the whole world, nor to last for ever.

5. Stress on the moral part; rites, &c. spoken slightingly of, Ps. l. 1; Isaiah i. 11; Jerem. vi. 20; Hosea vi. 6; Micah vi. 6.

6. Pharisees preferred rites to weightier matters; Sadducees denied angels, spirits, and life to come; general expectation of the Jews.

7. Revelation: 1. to a family; 2. to a nation; 3. to the whole world.

IV.

1. Messiah typified: family, time, place, character foretold; introduced by angels, apparitions, voices from heaven, inspirations; attended by miracles; sight, motion, even life bestowed on the dead.

2. Worship in spirit and in truth: perfect morals; divine sanction reaching to all men, which wanting in the h[eathen] wisdom: in the former, i. e. morals exceeds Judaism [as having] a clearer view of future things; rites vanish like shadows.

3. Not only outward observance, but inward sanctity; contempt of the world, and life itself.

4. Peace; charity; benevolence; all honest and orderly behaviour; love of God; purity of mind.

5. Having opened heaven and the sources of eternal life, Christ inflames us with the hoped immortality; assimilation to the Deity; perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect.

6. Exhortation helps; encouragements; rewards; punishments.

7. Means of reconciliation; Jewish nation and Christian; God of pardon, grace.

8. Christ crucified; the leader, way, life, truth; hath all power in heaven and earth; proved by miracles; raising others and Himself; sent us the Holy Ghost.

II.

PREACHED AT NEWPORT, MARCH 2, $172\frac{8}{9}$.

ROM. VIII. 13.

If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.

1. Animal and rational; brute and angel; senses, appetites, passions—their ends and uses; guilt, why not in beasts.

Opposition, war; Rom. viii. 6, Gal. v. 17; lapsed state.

Grace, spirit, new man, old man; Eph. iv. 22; danger from not subduing the carnal brutal animal part or flesh; works of the flesh, what; Gal. v. 19.

2. Fasting conducive to subdue the flesh, shewn from natural causes; 2 Cor. iv. 16; shewn from effects in describing life spiritual and lives of carnal men.

Fortune, reputation, health, pleasure; public evils from carnal men.

3. Examples: Moses' fast in the mount forty days and nights fitted him to receive the law from God by speech of the Holy One; Elijah supported by one cake and cruse of water, in strength whereof he lived forty days and forty

nights, and after saw God in Horeb; Dan. i. 17, 'God gave them knowledge and skill in all learning and wisdom; and Daniel had understanding in all visions and dreams.'

4. Instance of mercy to fasters, as in Niniveh; of indignation for the contrary, as in the Israelites who longed after the fleshpots in Egypt.

5. Examples out of the New Testament: St. John Baptist and Christ Himself.

6. Precepts in New Testament: 'This kind goeth not,' &c.; 'When ye fast,' &c., Matt. vi. 16; fasts at certain times.

7. What sort a Christian fast should be: not to destroy health, not for ostentation, not in form, but from degree as well as kind; not to merit, much less to establish a bank of merits; habitual temperance; fast from all sin; curb lust, tongue, anger, every passion, each whereof inebriates and obfuscates no less than drink or meat; cut off right hand, pluck out, &c.

8. Recapitulation: 3 motives, viz.—I. Temple of God, 1 Cor. iii. 16. II. Race-horse, 'so strive that ye may obtain,' 1 Cor. ix. 24; crown, things temporal with things eternal compared. III. Wrestle with principalities, &c.; Christian armour, Eph. vi. 11.

III.

PREACHED AT NEWPORT, FIRST SUNDAY IN JULY, 1729.

Rom. xiv. 17.

For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

I.

1. Context: Meat and drink imply all rites and ceremonies.

2. Division into essentials and circumstantials in religion.

3. Circumstantials of less value, (1) from the nature of

things; (2) from their being left undefined; (3) from the concession of our Church, which is foully misrepresented.

4. Duty in these matters, (1) because of decency and edification; (2) because of lawful authority; (3) because of peace and union.

II.

1. Worship in spirit and truth, righteousness in deed, in word, in thought; not limited to buying and selling (Rom. xiii. 7).

2. Easier understood than practised; appeal to conscience.

3. Christ's summary rule—'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so [to] them; for this is the law and the prophets.'

4. Reasons for practice: from equity (Mal. ii. 10); the knave may triumph, but, &c. (Ezek. xxii. 1).

III.

1. Christian peace twofold, (1) peace of mind inward; (2) outward peace, i. e. charity and union with other men (Phil. ii. 1, 2; 1 Cor. i. 10; Rom. xv. 1).

2. The sum of religion: the distinguishing badge of Christians.

3. Sad that religion which requires us to love should become the cause of our hating one another. But it is not religion, it is, &c.

4. Were men modest, were men charitable, were men sincere. Objection of lukewarmness.

5. Discern between persons and opinions, proportion our zeal to the merit of things.

6. Elias-like zeal not the spirit of Christians. Charity described (1 Cor. xiii).

IV.

1. Joy in the Holy Spirit not sullen, sour, morose, joyless, but rejoicing.

2. Not with insolent, tumultuous, profane joy, but calm, serene, perpetual. Sinners, infidels, &c. have cause to be sad.

3. Causes of joy: protection of God (Ps. x), forgiveness

of sin (Ps. ciii. 2, 3, 9), aid of the Holy Spirit, adoption, inheritance in the heavens.

4. Since we have so great things in view, let us overlook petty differences; let us look up to God our common Father; let us bear one another's infirmities; instead of quarrelling about those things wherein we differ, let us practise those things wherein we agree.

(1) The Lord is my light and my salvation, &c.

(2) Be at peace among yourselves, &c.

(3) The way of the wicked is as darkness; they know not at what, &c.

(4) The hope of the righteous, &c.

IV.

PREACHED AT NEWPORT, AUGUST 3, 1729.

1 Tim. iii. 16.

Without controversy great is the mystery of godliness; God was manifest in the flesh.

St. John i. 14.

The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us.

I.

The divinity of our Saviour a fundamental article of the Christian faith. We believe in Him, pray to Him, depend upon Him here and hereafter. Omniscience, &c. Denied of late years. Mystery what.

State clear up, shew the proofs, answer objections, consider use and importance of the doctrine.

II.

Concerning the soul and body of Christ there is no controversy, but about the personal union of the divinity with the manhood.

Some sort of union with the Godhead in prophets, apostles, all true Christians, all men; but with men, Christians, inspired persons, Christ in different degrees.

The latter also in kind contradistinct as personal. This explained, and shewn not repugnant to natural reason.

III.

Shewn to be in fact from express words in Scripture terming Christ God: [[1] 'The Word was God,' John i. 1; 'My Lord and my God,' said Thomas to the Saviour.] From attributions of omnipotence: ['By Him all things consist,' Col. i. 17; 'Upholding all things by the word of His power,' Heb. i. 3; 'Whatsoever things the Father doth, these also doeth the Son likewise,' John v. 19, 21.] Omnipresence: [John xiv. 23, 'Christ saith if a man love Him that the Father and He will come,' &c.; Matthew xviii. 20; xxviii. 20.] Omniscience: ['Now are we sure that Thou knowest all things,' John xvi. 30; xxi. 17.]

From the history and circumstances of His birth, life, and resurrection, prophecies, miracles, apparition of angels. From His works: [Pardoning sins, giving grace, sending the Holy Spirit, judging the world, distributing rewards and punishments, dooming to final perdition, or crowning with life and immortality.] From the worship paid to Him: 'All men are commanded to honour the Son even as they honour the Father,' John v. 23. [Baptism: 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' Apostles' benediction: 'The grace of our Lord,' &c. Doxology. St. Peter ascribes to Him 'praise and dominion for ever and ever;' and again, 'to Him be glory,' &c.; 'through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever,' Heb. xiii. 21; and in the Apocal. v. 13, 'and every creature which is in heaven,' &c.]

IV.

Objection from Scripture: ['The Son can do nothing of Himself,' &c., John v. 13; 'I seek not Mine own will, but the will of the Father who hath sent Me,' ib.; 'I have not spoken of Myself, but the Father who hath sent Me,' &c., John xii. 49; 'to sit on My right hand is not Mine to give,' &c., Matt. xx. 23; 'of that hour knoweth no man, not the angels, nor the Son, but the Father,' Mark xiii. 32. He

[1] Passages within brackets added on the opposite side of the MS.

prayeth, is afflicted, tempted, distressed.] Answered by acknowledging Christ to be man as well as God, whence contradictorys are predicated of His different natures.

v.

Objection from reason, from the meanness of His figure and appearance. Answered by shewing wherein true greatness and glory consists—more in miracles and sanctity, infinitely more than in pomp and worldly grandeur.

vi.

Objection second from reason, i. e. from substance, personality, &c.

[The seed of the woman shall break the serpent's head in the daies of Adam. To Abraham: 'In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.' By Jacob: 'Shiloh to whom the gathering of the people.' Balaam: 'There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel.' Types: paschal lamb, all sacrifices. From Samuel to Malachi: Luke x. 24—'Many prophets have desired,' &c.

Hence motives to obedience, faith, hope, joy. [This doctrine or mystery; what not intended to produce; what it hath accidentally produced. Simile of the sun and weak eyes; mind dim'd with folly or inflamed with pride; rescue from despair; a hopeless case cutts of all endeavour, &c. Favour extended; door opened; citizens; endeavours accepted.]

V.

PREACHED AT NEWPORT, THE FIRST SUNDAY IN SEPTEMBER, 1729.

Heb. xii. 22, 23.

But ye are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect.

1. Body, city, kingdom; Church formed in the original creation of intelligent beings, which necessarily formed for

society with one another and orderly submission to the will of God: defection of angels and men: our business to recover this pristine state: 1st, Church on earth founded on the light of nature and traditions from Noah; 2nd, Church of the Jews abolishing idolatry, containing the principles of moral duty with shadows and figures of things to come; Segullah[1] always subsisting; 3rd, Church the Christian.

2. Jewish the religion of legal justice, Christian of saving grace; grace from the beginning[2]; method of admission into this society; ['both Jews and Gentiles are fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God,' Ephes. ii. 19; the Church of the living God; the pillar and ground of truth; built by Christ upon a rock; against which the gates of hell shall never prevail;] 'names written in heaven,' Luke x. 20; blotted out of the book of life; faith and repentance inward, baptism outward; by nature unholy, by regeneration holy; in 1st state lust, appetite, sense, passion, in a word the flesh; in 2nd new life of the spirit, purifying, sanctifying, ennobling our natures.

3. Requisites to continuance in the Church of Christ: inward, the love of God and our neighbour, which comprehend the sum of all duty, the bond and cement; outward, the reception of the Holy Sacrament.

4. Regular government necessary to every society upon earth: 12 patriarchs and 12 *φύλαρχαι*, so 12 Apostles; 70 in the Sanhedrin, so 70 disciples appointed by our Lord; ['He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ,' Eph. iv, 11, 12;] at first, indeed, illiterate men and mechanics were pastors, but then they were inspired and miraculously gifted, Ephes. iv. 11, 12; bishops, priests, and deacons; 'The Lord gave the word: great was the company of those that published it,' Ps. [lxviii. 11].

5. Rights and privileges pertaining to this society; adopted into the divine family, sons of God, heirs of salvation; not slaves, but subjects; in every society rights and dues;

[1] Segulla = סְגֻלָּה *Peculium*, 'a peculiar treasure,' Exod. xix. 5.

[2] Prophetic view of Christ, faith in God, sacrifices.—M.

['In this city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God,' Heb. xi. 10;] God hath right to our obedience, and we right to His promises; we are obliged to live towards God as servants, subjects, children; towards one another as brethren.

6. Church invisible and visible; many of the visible Church not of the invisible; can we think that such and such, &c.?

7. Church not confined to this spot of earth; text; angels original citizens, we aliens naturalised; ['Very excellent things are spoken of thee, thou city of God,' Ps.;] unity of the Church, because governed by one Head, quickened and sanctified by the same Spirit, whereof all partake, whence a communion of saints; [our Saviour saith, 'There shall be one fold, and one shepherd,' St. John x. 16.]

8. Recapitulation; Baptism and the Eucharist; punctual in lower forms for small views; spiritual things not perceived by carnal men; palace and dungeon; how eager to get in, how cautious of being turned out. Ephes. iv. 1-6.

VI.

PREACHED AT NEWPORT IN RHODE ISLAND, THE FIRST SUNDAY IN OCTOBER, 1729.

Acts ii. 38.

Repent, and be baptized every one of you.

1.

1. Baptism by water a sign both by nature and appointment; a badge also by which Christians are distinguished.

2. Seal of God's promises—remission, justification, adoption. God binds Himself by free promise of grace on His part, on our part we become entitled to these promises, to the ordinances and the grace conferred by them.

3. New life and regeneration, Rom. vi. 3, 4, 7.

'He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved,' Mark xvi. 16.

'Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.'

II.

1. Men of notoriously wicked lives and of scandalous professions anciently excluded; now [no?] doubt touching children and slaves; children of believers may, for—1°. 'to you and your children are the promises made,' Acts ii. 39, &c.; 'your children are holy,' 1 Cor. vii. 14; circumcision.

2. Objection that belief is required; ans. by parallel; he that will not labour, neither shall he eat, now infants are not hereby excluded from eating.—2. Believers may be termed believers, Christ calling them so, Matt. xviii. 6.—3. Strictly speaking, it is not faith, but the application of Christ's righteousness that justifieth, and this may, if God please, be applied otherwise than by faith, v. q. by His sanctifying Spirit.

3. 2d objection: that no mention is made of infants being baptised in Scripture; but neither is mention made there of women receiving the Eucharist,—besides, it is said, several persons and all their household were baptised.

III.

1. Our Saviour commandeth His disciples to go and baptise all nations. The Eunuch of Ethiopia.

2. 1. ob. Christianity maketh no alteration in civil rights, servants in the New Testament signifying slaves, v. q. Onesimus; hence objection from loss of property answered.

3. 2d. ob. That baptism makes slaves worse. Resp. This proceeds from an infidel mind; contrary shewn; what they charge on baptism to be charged on their own unchristian life and neglect of instruction.

4. Duty in masters to instruct and baptise their families, but negligent of their own baptism.

IV.

Baptism of adults deferred anciently either for instruction or emendation of the Church, but wrongly by themselves deferred.

1 reason, 1°. through supine negligence.

What so nearly concerns as our own soul? what so valuable as the kingdom of heaven?

If you were sick, in captivity, or encumbered with debt, and you were assured that by an easy method, as washing, &c., would you say you had not leisure to be heard, &c.?

But these diseases, this servitude, these debts, are of infinitely more consequence as respecting our eternal state.

Should any enemy debar you, how would you rail! why then will you be that enemy yourself?

2 reas. Despondency. Resp. 'Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound,' Rom. v. 20.

3 reas. Heresy of Novatian. St. Peter, and whole tenour of the New Testament and Old.

4 reas. Wrong notion of a covenant which they apprehend would entrap them; herein 1°. mistake from the nature of the covenant, which imposeth no new obligations; were believing men free before baptism, something might be said for deferring it, but 'woe to thee, Bethsaida,' &c., but 'Sodom,' &c., Matt. x. 14, 15. 2°. impiety in mistrusting our Blessed Lord, who invites, saying, 'Come to Me, all that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you;' also, He saith His yoke is easy, and His burden light. 3°. the greatest folly and blindness to our loss, it being a covenant on our part entirely advantageous, a privilege, an offer of grace and pardon and invaluable rights. Titus iii. 4, 5.

5 reas. An unwillingness to forsake sin, a cunning design of living to the world and dying to God; this is to say, I will wallow in vice and sin, cheat, purloin, indulge in gluttony and drunkenness, and deny nothing that my appetite leads to; the first-fruits, flower, prime to the devil, the fag-end, when faculty for good and evil is gone, to God. 'Thinkest thou that I am such a one as thyself?' Ps.; but 'God is not mocked,' Gal.

Our Saviour's parable of those who came late in the day

to work, not designed to encourage delay in believers, but to give comfort to those who had late means of information.

But how know you it is not late now? who hath given you a lease of life? who assured you that you shall live to be old, that you shall not die suddenly, that you shall not die to-morrow, or even this very day? can you think that God, whom you never hearkened to, will hearken to your first call?

When the fever is got into your head, when you can neither bend a knee nor lift an eye to heaven, when you cannot frame a prayer yourself or join with others. Suppose baptism conferred then and grace given, you have the talent without the time or opportunity to produce fruit or profit thereby.

All things are ready; God now calls, but the devil causeth delay; to-day for me, to-morrow for the Lord. He is too cunning to suggest a resolution against ever doing what you know should be done, but stealing the present he stealeth day after day, till, &c.

Be enrolled on earth in due time, that you may be written in the book of life that is in heaven.

VII.

PREACHED AT NEWPORT, FIRST SUNDAY IN AUGUST, 1730.

MATT. XXII. 37, 38.

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment.

In arts and sciences certain fundamental truths; in factions and divisions of men a chief tenet or principle; in religion, difference and degrees in principles; what is the chief? our Saviour answers in my text.

Love various: 1. of sensible objects; 2. of inferiors and dependants; 3. of friendship between equals; 4. love

of gratitude and respect to benefactors and superiors; 5. love of virtue and excellence, i. e. objects of the understanding.

Two last the love of God: image of God strongly to be impressed for imitation; ever mindful of His benefits, numerous, great, constant.

We shew love to superiors and benefactors by consulting their honour, i. e. by performing their will, and endeavouring that others should perform it. ['This is the love of God, that we keep His commandments,' John v. 3.]

Will of God known, 1. by considering His attributes; 2. by conscience and instinct; 3. by the preaching of Christ and apostles. ['Their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world.']

Hence, 1°. charity, i. e. candour, gentleness, compassion, congratulation, wishing and promoting their welfare.

2°. Temperance, contrivance of appetites and passions, limits, objects, mortification, rule the end and tendency.

3°. Resignation; ['The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord,' Job;] good with thanks, bad with patience, both mistaken; strong passions, weak judgments; wealth and power in themselves indifferent, good or bad as used; rather thankful than anxious for more.

4°. Worship in spirit and in truth; holy, as He is holy; not lip-worship, not will-worship, but inward and evangelical.

Our interest in this, imperfect creatures, blind and backward; actions civil and motions natural, all by law; thus actions moral and religious by rule, i. e. will of God; will follows understanding; ignorant and impotent; ['There is a way that seemeth right unto man, but the end thereof are the ways of death,' Prov.;] anguish and remorse; ['Woe unto him that striveth with his maker,' Isaiah xlv. 9;] conforming gives happiness, public and private.

Mind the end and will of God; not enslaved by lust; faculties not impaired; masters not servants to passions, bending them to the will of God; our freedom and perfection.

To this single point all religion, virtue, happiness; misery from transgressing, happiness from conforming to

rule; but no rule so right, &c.; agreeable harmony; not disturbed, not disappointed, not engaged, not worried, but calm, &c.; living up to nature; nothing so natural to man as an orderly life, regulated by the will of God; proper sphere; dislocated; duty and interest joined in the love of God.

VIII.

PREACHED AT NEWPORT, MAY 11[1].

St. Luke xxii. 19.

This do in remembrance of Me.

1 Cor. xi. 26.

As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till He come.

Christ's institution observed constantly in the Church; this sufficient to modest and humble Christians. But observed only by few, &c.; therefore treat of the uses of this sacrament, the requisites to it, and the objections against receiving it.

1st use to signify and to seal; bread and wine apt emblems, and why: 2. to keep up a memory: 3. to increase faith, love of God, joy, thankfulness: 4. to quicken our obedience by repentance and resolutions: 5. to distinguish Christians from other men: 6. to cement them together: 7. meet there should be certain solemn times for certain duties, to prevent growing into neglect. ['To everything there is a season and a time for every purpose under the sun.']

Wrong apprehensions about the Eucharist in Papists not considering the circumcision is called the covenant, lamb the passover, cup the new testament; their folly too gross:—in enthusiasts or mistaken men, who reject it as not spiritual; but why pray? why preach? why build houses of worship? because these are signs or means of grace or things spiritual. The like to be said of the Eucharist.

[1] No year; probably 1730.

Practice of primitive Christians, than whom none wiser or better now. Inspiration of the apostles and first disciples known by miracles. (Acts ii. 15, 17, 18, and iii.) No inspiration to be admitted for such without them; much less for pretence thereof to reject institutions of Christ and His apostles.

Wrong apprehensions in other men of our own communion, who avoid the Eucharist. Ground hereof the fear of incurring wrath by abuse; this founded principally on St. Paul's threat to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xi. 29 with 21. If fear of abuse prevail, why baptised? why hear a sermon? why read the Scriptures?

Things required in the communicants: Faith, 1 Tim. i. 15; repentance, James iv. 8; charity, 1 Cor. x. 16, 17. Christians without these exposed to wrath, although they forbear the sacrament, the neglect whereof an additional guilt. Ps. cxvi. 12, 13, 14.

IX.

PREACHED AT NEWPORT. [NO DATE.]

1 Cor. xv. 20.

But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the firstfruits of them that slept.

1 Cor. xv. 55.

O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?

2 Tim. i. 10.

Who abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel.

1. To consider the ways of men, one would think them never to die; [Psalms, 'the inward thought of the rich, that their houses shall continue for ever, and their dwelling-places to all generations;'] to consider how made within, what accidents without; strange should live so long; no need of reason to prove death, experience frequent; [Peter, 'All flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass.']

2. Uncertainty of time; brevity certain; case not hopeless of a resurrection; many hints from nature in changes analogous thereto; night and day, winter and spring, fruits, plants, insects, production of animals.

3. Argument from instinct, and natural appetite of immortality; reflexion on the growth and perfection of the soul, whence designed for higher purposes; this world a punishment or a school, the former philosophers, the latter Christians.

4. Job[1] and Balaam[2] before the Jews; [uncertainty of ancients in expressions[3]]; of these David, Ezekiel[4], Solomon, and Daniel[5]. [[1] Job xix. 25, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that He shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: and though after my skin worms destroy this my body, yet in my flesh shall I see God.' [2] 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and may my latter end be like his.' [3] Job xiv. 7, 10, 'There is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, and that the tender branch thereof will not cease . . . but man dieth, and wasteth away: yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?' [4] Eccles. xii. 7, 'The dust shall return to the earth, and the spirit to God who gave it.' [5] Dan. xii. 2, 'Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.']

5. Life and immortality brought to light by the gospel; Jewish twilight; resurrection of Christ proof, as confirmation, as example.

6. Christ. predicts and institutes, voluntary; Jews place guard; soldiers' tale; Providence in the guard; appeared often, to several, in the day; submits to trials of sense, walks, talks, eats and drinks; disciples could not be deceived; ascension; 3000 converts.

7. Consider the impossibility of deceiving others: with cunning? none; with authority? none; with eloquence and learning? none; no means.

8. No motives, punishments, &c. for declaring it, no temporal advantage; nor fame, nor interest, nor prejudices answered by it.

9. Cowardly before, new and high courage; dispersed when alive; die for him now he is dead; expected a temporal prince.

10. End, goodness, innocence, truth.

11. Prophecies, miracles, resurrection, ascension; destruction, dispersion of Jews; wonderful spread of the gospel; like light to Britain and India and Aethiopia.

X.

PREACHED AT NEWPORT. [NO DATE.]

Ps. xv. 1, 3

Lord, who shall abide in Thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in Thy holy hill? He that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbour, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbour.

1. Frequency; little honour, great guilt; [James i. 26, 'If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, *but deceiveth his own heart*, that man's religion is vain;'] text. 4 points: 1. what it is contrary to; 2. whence it springs; 3. what effects; 4. counsels for shunning it, in the close exhortation against it.

2. Contrary to charity, 1 Cor. xiii. 4, 5, 6; taking things in the worst sense mark of hatred; eagerness to tell mark of pleasure which shews hatred.

3. Contrary to justice; not doing as we would be done by; [St. James iv. 12, 'Who art thou that judgest another?'] Judges obliged to inform themselves. Good and evil moral depends on unseen springs. Not to draw a general character from a single instance. Life, goods, and reputation, 3 great possessions; in the two first wrong evident.

4. Sign of want of merit; readiness to suspect others, token of inward guilt.

5. Sign of malignant nature; like to God and to the devil by different qualities. Spider and toad unlike to the bee. Pride and ill-will sources of detraction.

6. Evil effects, viz. loss of reputation, inferring many losses, e. g. of comfort, esteem, interest, friendship, &c.; ill-will among neighbours; bad example to others; manner how reports spread in an instant.

7. Evil effects to ourselves; retaliation; hatred; contempt; loss of time; no advantage; no sensual or reason-

able pleasure ; no esteem. [Prov. x. 18, 'He that uttereth slander is a fool.'] This damns more souls than murder or robbery.

8. Counsel to cherish charity towards others. [Titus iii. 2, 'Speak evil of no man ;' and St. James iv. 11, 'Speak not evil one of another.'] To look narrowly into ourselves ; talk ; to examine whether we have not the same, or as bad, or even worse ; beam in our own eye ; great use in examining ours, none in others.

9. Pharisee and publican ; severe to ourselves, candid to others ; all criminals at the same bar ; inditing our neighbour, we swell our own indictment. 'Judge not, that you be not judged,' &c., Matt. vii. 1, 2 ; Rom. xiv. 4.

XI.

PREACHED AT NEWPORT. [NO DATE.]

James iv. 11.

Speak not evil one of another.

Vices, like weeds, different in different countries ; national vice familiar ; intemperate lust in Italy, drinking in Germany ; tares wherever there is good seed ; though not sensual, not less deadly ; e. g. detraction : would not steal *6d.*, but rob a man of his reputation ; they who have no relish for wine have itching ears for scandal ; this vice often observed in sober people ; praise and blame natural justice ; where we know a man lives in habitual sin unrepented, we may prevent hypocrites from doing evil ; but to judge without inquiry, to shew a facility in believing and a readiness to report evil of one's neighbour ; frequency, little horror, great guilt ; ext.

4 points ; not contrary to ; whence it springs ; what effects ; arguments and exhortation against it.

Contrary to charity : 1 Cor. xiii. 4, 5, 6, ['Charity suffereth long, and is kind ; charity envieth not ; is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil ; rejoiceth not in

iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth;'] taking things in the worst sense mark of hatred.

Contrary to justice: not doing as we would be done by; St. James iv. 12, ['Who art thou that judgest another?'] Judges obliged to inform themselves; moral good and evil depends on unseen springs; life, goods, and reputation 3 chief possessions, wrong in the two first evident.

Springs from want of merit: readiness to suspect others, token of inward guilt. He that cannot rise would depress.

Springs from malignant nature: like to God and the devil by different qualities; spider, toad, and bee; pride and ill-will sources of detraction.

Evil effects to others: loss of reputation inferring many losses, e. g. of comfort, esteem, interest, friendship; ill-will among neighbours; bad example to others; [how reports spread in an instant.]

Evil effects to ourselves: retaliation, hatred, contempt, loss of time, no advantage, no pleasure sensual or rational. [Prov. x. 18, 'He that uttereth slander is a fool.'] This damns more souls than murder or robbery.

Counsel to cherish charity towards others: [Titus iii. 2, 'Speak evil of no man;'] to look narrowly into ourselves; to examine whether we have not the same or as bad or even worse; beam in our own eye; great use in examining ourselves, little in our neighbours; severe to ourselves, candid to others; reverse of the Pharisee; all criminals at the same bar; judge not, that you be not judged.

Let a man examine himself, enough to tire, not to satisfy, if pleased with others' defects, &c.; mark of reprobation, because contrary to mark of Christ's disciples; because it makes men likest to Satan; he is by etymology an enemy to mankind; he is by office father of lies; he tempts men to sensuality, but he is in his own nature malicious and malignant; pride and ill-nature two vices most severely rebuked by our Saviour.

All deviations sinful, but those upon dry purpose more so; malignity of spirit like an ulcer in the nobler parts, less visible but more, &c.; age cures sensual vices, this grows with age; [James i. 26, 'If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, that man's religion is vain;' form of godliness, &c.;] more to be guarded against because less scandalous; imposing on

others and even on themselves as religion and a zeal for God's service, when it really proceeds only from ill-will to man, and is no part of our duty to God, but directly contrary to it. [Ps. xv. 1, 3, 'Lord, who shall abide in Thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in Thy holy hill? he that backbiteth not with his tongue, or taketh up a reproach against his neighbour.']

XII.

PREACHED AT NEWPORT. [NO DATE.]

LUKE II. 14.

Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men.

1. First creation and second: ['when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.'] Messiah predestinated from the beginning. Adam [1], Abraham [2], Jacob [3], Balaam [4], David, Isaiah, Daniel, &c. types. Isaiah ix. 6. First long foretold; anniversary advent celebrated. [Devotion, respect, meditation,] three points in the text. [[1] The seed of the woman that should bruise the serpent's head. [2] 'In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.' [3] Shiloh, to whom the gathering of the people should be. [4] 'I shall see Him, but not now: I shall behold Him, but not nigh: there shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel.']

2. Kingdom of darkness and of light: lust and brutality and ignorance; knowledge, truth, faith, virtue, grace. Magnify, thank, praise, worship, not as Pagans, nor as Jews, but in spirit and truth. [Glory be to God, as excellent praised, as good beloved, as powerful adored. He is not proud of our praise, or fond of our worship; but, &c.]

3. Charity, love, forgiveness, peace, doing good, mark and distinction, life, soul, substance of our religion. Eph. iv. 31; 1 Cor. iii. 3, 4. Beatitudes; herein goodness of God.

4. Goodwill from sin to holiness, death to life, enmity to reconciliation. 1 John iv. 9, 10; Isa. liii. 4, 5, 6. No

cloud, whirlwind, fire, &c., but, &c. Frost and darkness before the sun. Jews under the law saved by the same means. Faint light. 2 Pet. i. 19.

[5. Phil. ii. 6, 7. God rendered more visible, not more present, by incarnation. Light of the sun unpolluted. Believe what is revealed, content therewith.]

6. How is God glorified when sin abounds? Resp. It less abounds; glorified one way in the righteous, another in the wicked. How is peace upon earth? Resp. Among true Christians, and all are exhorted to be so: [wars not from religion, but from avarice and ambition and revenge; religion only pretext.] How doth goodwill appear to men, since they abuse the Gospel? Resp. Goodwill in the offer, not in the use; God gracious, though man be wicked. That our nature, which was polluted, might be sanctified, infirm strengthened, estranged reconciled, doomed to hell, admitted into heaven. Adam's curse reversed between sentence and execution before. Shall angels, stars, inanimate nature, and not man? Our Blessed Lord comes to wash, redeem, adopt; but man will not be washed, will not, &c. What more pitiful and preposterous than that we should reject the tender mercies of the Lord, renounce our adoption, forfeit our inheritance in that blessed region where Christ—whence—whither, &c.

A SERMON

PREACHED BEFORE THE

INCORPORATED SOCIETY

FOR THE

PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS

AT THEIR

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

IN THE

PARISH CHURCH OF ST. MARY-LE-BOW

ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1732

First published in 1732

NOTE

Berkeley left Rhode Island on his return to England in the end of autumn, 1731, and must have reached London early in the following year. At any rate, on February 18 he preached the following Sermon, at the Anniversary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The office of preacher was naturally offered to the Dean of Londonderry, newly returned from his self-imposed mission to America in harmony with that for which the Society had been founded. Berkeley's *Sermon* was published in London in 1732, and reprinted in the *Miscellany* in 1752. The following Minute is prefixed to both editions:—

'February 18, 173½.

'At the Anniversary Meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,

'Agreed, That the thanks of the Society be given to the Reverend Mr. Dean Berkeley for his Sermon preached this day before the Society, and that he be desired to print the same.

'David Humphreys, *Secretary*.'

Seven years later, on February 16, 1739, the Anniversary Sermon was preached by Bishop Butler, the other great theological philosopher of the Anglican Church.

A SERMON

PREACHED BEFORE THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL

'This is Life Eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.'—JOHN xvii. 3.

THAT human kind were not designed merely to sojourn a few days upon this earth: that a being of such excellence as the soul of man, so capable of a nobler life, and having such a high sense of things moral and intellectual, was not created in the sole view of being imprisoned in an earthly tabernacle, and partaking a few pains and pleasures which chequer this mortal life, without aspiring to anything either above or beyond it, is a fundamental doctrine as well of natural religion as of the Christian. It comes at once recommended by the authority of philosophers and evangelists. And that there actually is in the mind of man a strong instinct and desire, an appetite and tendency towards another and a better state, incomparably superior to the present, both in point of happiness and duration, is no more than every one's experience and inward feeling may inform him. The satiety and disrelish attending sensual enjoyments, the relish for things of a more pure and spiritual kind, the restless motion of the mind from one terrene object or pursuit to another, and often a flight or endeavour above them all towards something unknown, and perfective of its nature, are so many signs and tokens of this better state, which in the style of the Gospel is termed Life Eternal.

And as this is the greatest good that can befall us, the very end of our being, and that alone which can crown and satisfy our wishes, and without which we shall be ever

restless and uneasy; so every man who knows and acts up to his true interest must make it his principal care and study to obtain it: and, in order to this, he must endeavour to live suitably to his calling, and of consequence endeavour to make others obtain it too. For, how can a Christian shew himself worthy of his calling otherwise than by performing the duties of it? And what Christian duty is more essentially so than that of charity? And what object can be found upon earth more deserving our charity than the souls of men? Or how is it possible for the most beneficent spirit to do them better service than by promoting their best and most lasting interest, that is, by putting them in the way that leads to Eternal Life?

What this Eternal Life was, or how to come at it, were points unknown to the heathen world[1]. It must be owned, the wise men of old, who followed the light of nature, saw, even by that light, that the soul of man was debased, and borne downwards, contrary to its natural bent, by carnal and terrene objects; and that, on the other hand, it was exalted, purged, and in some sort assimilated to the Deity, by the contemplation of truth and practice of virtue[2]. Thus much in general they saw or surmised. But then about the way and means to know the one, or perform the other, they were much at a loss. They were not agreed concerning the true end of mankind;—which, as they saw, was mistaken in the vulgar pursuits of men; so they found it much more easy to confute the errors of others than to ascertain the truth themselves. Hence so many divisions and disputes about a point which it most imported them to know, insomuch as it was to give the bias to human life, and govern the whole tenor of their actions and conduct.

But when Life and Immortality were brought to light by the Gospel, there could remain no dispute about the chief end and felicity of man, no more than there could about the means of obtaining it, after the express declaration of our Blessed Lord in the words of my text—'This is Life Eternal, that they might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.' For the right understanding of which words we must observe that by the

[1] Cf. Discourse on *The Revelation of Immortality*, delivered in 1708.

[2] Cf. *Siris*, sects. 294–298, 301–303, 338–341, 366, 367.

knowledge of God is not meant a barren speculation, either of philosophers or scholastic divines, nor any notional tenets fitted to produce disputes and dissensions among men; but, on the contrary, a holy practical knowledge, which is the source, the root, or principle of peace and union, of faith, hope, charity, and universal obedience. A man may frame the most accurate notions, and in one sense attain the exactest knowledge of God and Christ that human faculties can reach, and yet, notwithstanding all this, be far from knowing them in that saving sense. For St. John tells us, that 'whosoever sinneth hath not seen Christ, nor known Him' (John iii. 6). And again, 'He that loveth not knoweth not God' (1 John iv. 8). To know God as we ought, we must love Him; and love Him so as withal to love our brethren, His creatures and His children. I say, that knowledge of God and Christ which is Life Eternal implies universal charity, with all the duties ingrafted thereon, or ensuing from thence; that is to say, the love of God and man. And our Lord expressly saith, 'He that hath My commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth Me' (John xiv. 21). From all which it is evident that this saving knowledge of God is inseparable from the knowledge and practice of His will;—the explicit declaration whereof, and of the means to perform it, are contained in the gospel, that Divine instrument of grace and mercy to the sons of men. The metaphysical knowledge of God, considered in His absolute nature or essence, is one thing, and to know Him as He stands related to us as Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier is another. The former kind of knowledge (whatever it amounts to) hath been, and may be, in Gentiles as well as Christians, but not the latter, which is Life Eternal[1].

From what hath been said, it is a plain consequence that whoever is a sincere Christian cannot be indifferent about bringing over other men to the knowledge of God and Christ; but that every one of us, who hath any claim to

[1] Note how practical knowledge of God in relation to man, as revealed in Christ, which it is the intention of this Sermon to recommend, is distinguished from the speculative knowledge of Deity to which some philosophers aspire. Cf. *Alciphron*, Dial. IV. sect. 16–22, and Dial. VII, in which the nature of man's knowledge of God, and the mysteries in all our knowledge, are considered.

that title, is indispensably obliged, in duty to God and in charity to his neighbour, to desire and promote, so far as there is opportunity, the conversion of heathens and infidels, that so they may become partakers of Life and Immortality. For, 'this is Life Eternal, to know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.'

In my present discourse upon which words, I shall,
First, Consider in general the obligation that Christians lie under, of bringing other men to the knowledge of the only true God, and of Jesus Christ. And,
Secondly, I shall consider it in reference to this laudable Society, instituted for the Propagation of the Gospel.
And, under each head, I propose to obviate such difficulties as may seem to retard, and intermix such remarks as shall appear proper to forward so good a work.

Now, although it be very evident that we can really have neither a just zeal for the glory of God, nor a beneficent love of man, without wishing and endeavouring, as occasion serves, to spread the glad tidings of salvation, and bring those who are benighted in the shadow of death to Life Eternal, by the knowledge of the only true God, and of Jesus Christ whom He hath sent; yet this duty, plain and undoubted as it seems, happens to be too often overlooked, even by those whose attention to other points would make one think their neglect of this not an effect of lukewarm indifference so much as of certain mistaken notions and suppositions. Two principal considerations occur, which, in this particular, seem to have slackened the industry of some, otherwise zealous and serious Christians.

One I apprehend to be this—that it is surmised the Christian religion is in a declining state[1], which by many symptoms seems likely to end either in popery or a general infidelity. And that of course a prudent person has nothing to do but to make sure of his own salvation,

[1] This refers to the materialistic or atheistic 'free-thinking,' which so much engaged Berkeley throughout his life. Cf. *Essays in the Guardian*, *Principles*, *Dialogues*; also *Alciphron*, passim.

and to acquiesce in the general tendency of things, without being at any fruitless pains to oppose what cannot be prevented, to steer against the stream, or resist a torrent, which, as it flows, gathers strength and rapidity, and in the end will be sure to overflow, and carry all before it. When a man of a desponding and foreboding spirit hath been led, by his observation of the ways of the world and the prevailing humour of our times, to think after this manner, he will be inclined to strengthen this his preconceived opinion, as is usual in other the like cases, by misapplication of Holy Scripture: for instance, by those words of our Blessed Saviour, 'When the Son of man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?' (Luke xviii. 8), which have been applied to this very purpose, as importing that, before the final judgment, Christian faith should be extinguished upon earth;—although these words do, from the context, seem plainly to refer to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the obstinate blindness of the Jews, who, even then, when they felt the hand of God, should not acknowledge it, or believe the Roman army to be the instrument of Divine vengeance, in the day of their visitation, by Him whom they had injuriously treated, rejected, and put to death.

But, granting the former sense might be supported by no absurd hypothesis, or no improbable guess, yet shall the endeavours of Christian men for propagating the Gospel of Christ be forestalled by any suppositions or conjectures whatsoever? Admitting, I say, those words regard the future advent of Jesus Christ, yet can any one tell how near or how far off that advent may be? Are not the times and seasons foreknown only to God? And shall we neglect a certain duty to-day, upon an uncertain surmise of what is to come hereafter? This way of thinking might furnish as strong reasons against preaching at home as abroad, within as without the pale of the Church. It would be as specious an argument against the one as the other, but in reality can conclude against neither. For, as we know not when that supposed time of general infidelity is to be, or whether it will be at all; so, if it were ever so sure, and ever so near, it would nevertheless become us to take care that it may not be an effect of our own particular indifference and neglect.

But, if we take our notions, not from the uncertain interpretation of a particular text, but from the whole tenor of the Divine oracles, from the express promise and reiterated predictions of our Blessed Lord and His apostles, we shall believe, that 'Jesus Christ is highly exalted of God; to the end, that at His name every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess that He is the Lord, to the glory of God the Father' (Phil. ii. 9–11). That 'He must reign till He hath put all enemies under His feet' (1 Cor. xv. 25). That 'He is with us alway, even unto the end of the world' (Matt. xxviii. 20). And that the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of truth, is so far from being destroyed by human means, that 'the gates of hell (all the infernal powers) shall not prevail against it' (Matt. xvi. 18). Let us therefore banish all such conceits as may seem to justify our indolence, as may reason us out of all courage and vigour in the race that is set before us; let us not, I say, slacken our own hands, nor enfeeble our own knees, by preconceived fancies and suppositions, considering that as the success of all enterprises in great measure depends on the spirit of the undertakers, so nothing is more apt to raise a spirit than hope; nor to depress it than despondency. We ought therefore to shake off every vain fear in our spiritual warfare. The number, the presumption, and the abilities of those who take counsel together against the Lord and against His Anointed should not dishearten, but rather excite and encourage us to stand in the gap.

Another consideration that may possibly withhold divers sincere believers from contributing their endeavours for bringing men to the knowledge of God and Christ, and thereby to Eternal Life, is—the want of miracles in the present age[1]. Men naturally cast about for reasons to countenance the part they take. And as the gift of miracles was of mighty influence and help to those who were commissioned to spread abroad the light of the Gospel in its first promulgation, so no pretence offers itself more naturally to excuse a man from executing any purpose than the want of authority, which, in the opinion

[1] This 'want of miracles' is also touched in Butler's anniversary sermon in 1739 before the S. P. G.

of men, cannot be without a just commission, nor this unless distinguished by those proper means and powers that have been known to attend it. Now, with regard to this defect of miracles, I shall beg leave to make two observations:—

First, It is to be observed that if we have not miracles we have other advantages which make them less necessary now than in the first spreading of the Gospel. Whole nations have found the benefit of Christ's religion; it is protected by princes, established and encouraged by laws, supported by learning and arts, recommended by the experience of many ages, as well as by the authority and example of the wisest and most knowing men. Certainly, if the greatest part of mankind are Gentiles or Mahometans, it cannot be denied that the most knowing, most learned, and most improved nations profess Christianity, and that even the Mahometans themselves bear testimony to the Divine mission of Jesus Christ. Whereas, therefore, in the beginning, a few illiterate wanderers, of the meanest of the people, had the prejudices, the learning, and the power of their own as well as other nations, in one word, the whole world, to oppose and overcome: those who at this day engage in the propagation of the Gospel, do it upon terms in many respects far more easy and advantageous. It is power against weakness, civility against barbarism, knowledge against ignorance, some or other if not all these advantages, in the present times, attending the progress of the Christian religion, in whatever part of the world men shall attempt to plant it.

In the Second place, we may reflect that if we have not the gift of miracles this is a good reason why we should exert more strongly those human means which God hath put in our power; and make our ordinary faculties, whether of the head, or the hand, or the tongue, our interest, our credit, or our fortune, subservient to the great Giver of them; and cheerfully contribute our humble mite towards hastening that time wherein 'all nations whom Thou hast made shall come and worship before Thee, O Lord, and shall glorify Thy name' (Ps. lxxxvi. 9). It is at least a plain case, that the want of apostolical gifts should not be pleaded as a bar to our doing that which in no respect, either of difficulty or danger, equals or

approaches the apostolical office. What pretence can this supply for men's being quite unconcerned about the spreading of the Gospel, or the salvation of souls; for men's forgetting that they are Christians, and related to human kind? How can this justify their overlooking opportunities which lie in their way, their not contributing a small part of their fortune towards forwarding a design wherein they share neither pains nor peril; the not bestowing on it even the cheap assistance of their speech, attention, counsel, or countenance, as occasion offers? How unlike is this worldly, selfish indifference to that account which St. Paul gives of himself, that 'he sought not his own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved' (1 Cor. x. 33). And yet herein he expected the Corinthians (and the same reason will hold for us) should be like him; for he subjoins, 'Be ye followers of me, as I also am of Christ.'

Having considered the duty in general, I come now to treat of it with reference to America, the peculiar province of this venerable Society[1]; which I suppose well informed of the state and progress of religion in that part of the world, by their correspondences with the clergy upon their mission. It may nevertheless be expected that one who had been engaged in a design upon this very view, who hath been upon the place, and resided a considerable time in one of our Colonies, should have observed somewhat worth reporting. It is to be hoped, therefore, that one part of my audience will pardon what the other may perhaps expect, while I detain them with the narrative of a few things I have observed, and such reflexions as thereupon suggested themselves; some part of which may possibly be found to extend to other Colonies.

Rhode Island, with a portion of the adjacent Continent under the same government, is inhabited by an English Colony, consisting chiefly of sectaries of many different denominations, who seem to have worn off part of that prejudice which they inherited from their ancestors against

[1] The original design of this Society was to spread Christianity in parts of America subject to British dominion, and to carry it among the savage Indians of the Western Continent.

the national Church of this land; though it must be acknowledged at the same time, that too many of them have worn off a serious sense of all religion. Several indeed of the better sort are accustomed to assemble themselves regularly on the Lord's day for the performance of divine worship; but most of those who are dispersed throughout this colony seem to rival some well-bred people of other countries in a thorough indifference for all that is sacred, being equally careless of outward worship, and of inward principles, whether of faith or practice. Of the bulk of them it may certainly be said that they live without the sacraments, not being so much as baptised: and as for their morals, I apprehend there is nothing to be found in them that should tempt others to make an experiment of their principles, either in religion or government. But it must be owned, the general behaviour of the inhabitants in those towns where churches and meetings have been long settled and regularly attended seems so much better as sufficiently to shew the difference which a solemn regular worship of God makes between persons of the same blood, temper, and natural faculties.

The native Indians, who are said to have been formerly many thousands, within the compass of this colony, do not at present amount to one thousand, including every age and sex. And these are either all servants or labourers for the English, who have contributed more to destroy their bodies by the use of strong liquors than by any means to improve their minds or save their souls. This slow poison, jointly operating with the small-pox, and their wars (but much more destructive than both), have consumed the Indians, not only in our Colonies, but also far and wide upon our confines. And, having made havoc of them, is now doing the same thing by those who taught them that odious vice.

The negroes in the government of Rhode Island are about half as many more than the Indians; and both together scarce amount to a seventh part of the whole Colony. The religion of these people, as is natural to suppose, takes after that of their masters. Some few are baptised; several frequent the different assemblies: and far the greater part none at all. An ancient antipathy to the Indians—whom, it seems, our first planters (therein

as in certain other particulars affecting to imitate Jews rather than Christians) imagined they had a right to treat on the foot of Canaanites or Amalekites—together with an irrational contempt of the blacks, as creatures of another species, who had no right to be instructed or admitted to the sacraments—have proved a main obstacle to the conversion of these poor people.

To this may be added, an erroneous notion that the being baptised is inconsistent with a state of slavery. To undeceive them in this particular, which had too much weight, it seemed a proper step, if the opinion of his Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor-General could be procured. This opinion they charitably sent over, signed with their own hands; which was accordingly printed in Rhode Island, and dispersed throughout the Plantations. I heartily wish it may produce the intended effect. It must be owned, our reformed planters, with respect to the natives and the slaves, might learn from those of the Church of Rome how it is their interest and duty to behave. Both French and Spaniards have intermarried with Indians, to the great strength, security, and increase, of their Colonies. They take care to instruct both them and their negroes in the popish religion, to the reproach of those who profess a better. They have also bishops and seminaries for clergy; and it is not found that their Colonies are worse subjects, or depend less on their mother-country, on that account.

It should seem, that the likeliest step towards converting the heathen would be to begin with the English planters; whose influence will for ever be an obstacle to propagating the Gospel, till they have a right sense of it themselves, which would shew them how much it is their duty to impart it to others. The missionaries employed by this venerable Society have done, and continue to do, good service, in bringing those planters to a serious sense of religion, which, it is hoped, will in time extend to others. I speak it knowingly, that the ministers of the Gospel, in those provinces which go by the name of New England, sent and supported at the expense of this Society, have, by their sobriety of manners, discreet behaviour, and a competent degree of useful knowledge, shewn themselves worthy the choice of those who sent them; and particu-

larly in living on a more friendly foot with their brethren of the separation; who, on their part, were also very much come off from that narrowness of spirit which formerly kept them at such an unamicable distance from us. And as there is reason to apprehend that part of America could not have been thus distinguished, and provided with such a number of proper persons, if one-half of them had not been supplied out of the dissenting seminaries of the country, who, in proportion as they attain to more liberal improvements of learning, are observed to quit their prejudice towards an episcopal Church: so I verily think it might increase the number of such useful men, if provision were made to defray their charges in coming hither to receive holy orders;—passing and repassing the ocean, and tarrying the necessary time in London, requiring an expense that many are not able to bear. It would also be an encouragement to the missionaries in general, and probably produce good effects, if the allowance of certain missionaries were augmented, in proportion to the services they had done, and the time they had spent in their mission. These hints I venture to suggest, as not unuseful in an age wherein all human encouragements are found more necessary than at the first propagation of the Gospel. But they are, with all due deference and respect, submitted to the judgment of this venerable audience.

After all, it is hardly to be expected that, so long as Infidelity prevails at home, the Christian religion should thrive and flourish in our Colonies abroad. Mankind, it must be owned, left to themselves, are so much bewildered and benighted with respect to the origin of that evil which they feel, and from which they are at a loss about the means of being freed, that the doctrines of the lapsed state of man, his reconciliation by Christ, and regeneration by the Spirit, may reasonably be hoped to find an easy admission—as bringing with them light and comfort, into a mind not hardened by impenitency, nor foreclosed by pride, nor biassed by prejudice. But such is the vanity of man that no prejudice operates more powerfully than that in favour of fashion; and no fashions are so much followed by our Colonies as those of the mother-country, which they often adopt in their mode of living, to their great

inconvenience, without allowing for the disparity of circumstance or climate. This same humour hath made Infidelity (as I find it too credibly reported) spread in some of our wealthy Plantations; uneducated men being more apt to tread in the steps of libertines and men of fashion, than to model themselves by the laws and institutions of their mother-country, or the lives and professions of the virtuous and religious part of it.

But this is not all. While those abroad are less disposed to receive, some at home are, perhaps, less disposed to propagate the Gospel, from the same cause. It is to be feared, I say, that the prevailing torrent of Infidelity, which staggers the faith of some, may cool the zeal and damp the spirit of others, who, judging from the event and success of those who impugn the Church of Christ, may possibly entertain some scruple or surmise, whether it may not be, for the present at least, abandoned by Providence, and that human care must ineffectually interpose, till it shall please God, 'yet once more to shake not the earth only, but also the heavens.' This point had been touched before, but deserves farther consideration: to the end that the peculiar impiety of a profane age may not be a bar to those very endeavours, which itself renders more necessary, and calls for more loudly now than ever.

Whatever man may think, the arm of the Lord is not shortened. In all this prevalency of Atheism and Irreligion, there is no advantage gained by the powers of darkness, either against God, or godly men, but only against their own wretched partisans. The Christian dispensation is a dispensation of grace and favour. The Christian Church a society of men entitled to this grace, on performing certain conditions. If this society is diminished, as those who remain true members of it suffer no loss to themselves, so God loseth no right, suffereth no detriment, foregoeth no good; His grace resisted or unfruitful being no more lost to Him than the light of the sun shining on desert places, or among people who shut their eyes.

Besides, this excess, this unstemmed torrent of profaneness, may possibly, in the conclusion, defeat itself, confirm what it meant to extirpate, and, instead of destroying, prove a means of preserving our religion; the evil fruits

and effects thereof being so notorious and flagrant, and so sensibly felt, as in all likelihood to be able to open the eyes and rouse the attention of those who may be blind and deaf to every argument and consideration. Or, who knows but the Christian Church, corrupted by prosperity, is to be restored and purified by adversity? which may prove, for aught we can tell, as salutary in future as it hath been in past ages. Many insolent and presumptuous foes have set themselves against the Church of God; whose hook nevertheless may be in their nostrils, and His bridle in their lips, managing and governing even their rage and folly to the fulfilling of His own wise purposes; and who may not fail in the end to deal by them as He did by the king of Assyria, when He had 'performed His work upon Sion and upon Jerusalem, punishing their stout heart and high looks' (Isa. x. 12). This presumptuous conqueror was, without knowing it, a tool or instrument in the hands of that God whom he blasphemed. 'O Assyrian, the rod of Mine anger! I will send him against a hypocritical nation, and against the people of My wrath will I give him a charge to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets. Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so, but it is in his heart to destroy and cut off nations not a few' (Isa. x. 5–7).

Thus much at least is evident: it is no new thing that great enormities should produce great humiliations, and these again noble virtues, which have often recovered both single men, and whole states, even in a natural and civil sense. And if the captivities, distresses, and desolations of the Jewish Church have occasioned their return to God, and reinstated them in His favour; nay, if it was actually foretold, whenever they lay under the curse of God, at the mercy of their enemies, peeled and scattered in a foreign land, that nevertheless upon their calling His covenant to mind, and returning to Him, 'the Lord their God would turn their captivity and have compassion upon them' (Deut. xxx. 3).—I say, if things were so, why may we not in reason hope for something analogous thereto in behalf of the Christian Church? It cannot be denied, that there was a great analogy between the Jewish institutions, and the doctrines of the Gospel; for instance,

between the paschal lamb, and the Lamb of God slain from the foundation of the world; between the Egyptian bondage, and that of sin; the earthly Canaan, and the heavenly; the fleshly circumcision, and the spiritual. In these and many other particulars the analogy seems so plain that it can hardly be disputed. To be convinced that the law of Moses and the Jewish economy were figures and shadows of the evangelical, we need only look into the Epistle to the Hebrews. May we not therefore, in pursuance of this same analogy, suppose a similar treatment of the Jewish and Christian Church?

Let us then see, on what terms the former stood with God, in order to discover what the latter may reasonably expect. The solemn denunciation to the Jews was, 'If thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and to do all His commandments which I command thee this day, that the Lord thy God will set thee on high above all the nations of the earth' (Deut. xxviii. 1). But, in case of disobedience, it is added among many other threats and maledictions, 'The Lord shall smite thee with blasting and with mildew: and thy heaven that is over thy head shall be brass, and the earth that is under thee shall be iron' (Deut. xxviii. 22, 23). And again, 'The Lord shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart' (Deut. xxviii. 28). Have not the people of this land drawn down upon it, by more ways than one, the just judgments of Heaven? Surely we have felt in a metaphor the first of the forementioned judgments; and the last hath been literally fulfilled upon us. Is it not visible that we are less knowing, less virtuous, less reasonable, in proportion as we are less religious? Are we not grown drunk and giddy with vice, and vanity, and presumption, and free-thinking, and extravagance of every kind, to a degree that we may truly be said to be smitten with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart?

As anciently most unchristian schisms and disputes, joined with great corruption of manners, made way for the Mahometan in the east, and the papal dominion in the west; even so here at home in the last century, a weak reliance upon human politics and power on the one hand, and enthusiastic rage on the other, together with carnal

mindedness on both, gave occasion to introduce Atheism and Infidelity. If the temporal state and outward form of the Jewish Church was, upon their defection, overturned by invaders; in like manner, when Christians are no longer governed by the light of evangelical truth, when we resist the Spirit of God, are we not to expect that 'the heaven above will be as brass,' that the Divine grace will no longer shower down on our obdurate hearts, that our Church and profession will be blasted by licentious scorners, those madmen who in sport scatter firebrands, arrows, and death? As all this is no more than we may reasonably suppose will ensue upon our backsliding, so we may, with equal reason, hope it will be remedied upon our return to God.

From what hath been said it follows—that in order to propagate the Gospel abroad, it is necessary we do it at home, and extend our charity to domestic infidels, if we would convert or prevent foreign ones. So that a view of the declining state of religion here at home, of those things that produced this declension, and of the proper methods to repair it, is naturally connected with the subject of this discourse. I shall therefore beg your patience, while I just mention a few remarks or hints, too obvious, perhaps, in themselves to be new or unknown to any present, but too little visible in their effects to make one think they are, by all, much attended to.

Some, preferring points notional or ritual to the love of God and man, consider the national Church only as it stands opposed to other Christian societies. These generally have a zeal without knowledge, and the effects are suitable to the cause; they really hurt what they seem to espouse. Others, more solicitous about the discovery of truth than the practice of holiness, employ themselves rather to spy out errors in the Church than enforce its precepts. These, it is to be feared, postpone the great interests of religion to points of less concern in any eyes but their own. But surely they would do well to consider that an humble, though confused and indistinct, faith, in the bond of charity, and productive of good works, is much more evangelical than any accurate disputing and conceited knowledge.

A Church which contains the fundamentals, and nothing subversive of those fundamentals, is not to be set at nought by any particular member; because it may not, in every point, perhaps, correspond with his ideas, no, not though he is sure of being in the right. Probably there never was, or will be, an established Church in this world without visible marks of humanity upon it. St. Paul supposeth that, 'on the foundation of Jesus Christ there will be human superstructures of hay and stubble' (1 Cor. iii. 12), things light and trivial, wrong or superstitious, which indeed is a natural consequence of the weakness and ignorance of man. But where that living foundation is rightly laid in the mind, there will not fail to grow and spring from thence those virtues and graces, which are the genuine effects and tokens of true faith, and which are by no means inconsistent with every error in theory, or every needless rite in worship.

The Christian religion was calculated for the bulk of mankind, and therefore cannot reasonably be supposed to consist in subtle and nice notions. From the time that divinity was considered as a science, and human reason enthroned in the sanctuary of God, the hearts of its professors seem to have been less under the influence of grace. From that time have grown many unchristian dissensions and controversies, of men 'knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds and destitute of truth' (1 Tim. vi. 4, 5). Doubtless, the making religion a notional thing hath been of infinite disservice. And whereas its holy mysteries are rather to be received with humility of faith, than defined and measured by the accuracy of human reason; all attempts of this kind, however well intended, have visibly failed in the event; and, instead of reconciling infidels, have, by creating disputes and heats among the professors of Christianity, given no small advantage to its enemies.

To conclude: if we proportioned our zeal to the importance of things; if we could love men whose opinions we do not approve; if we knew the world more and liked it less; if we had a due sense of the Divine perfection and our own defects; if our chief study was the wisdom from

above, described by St. Paul; and if, in order to all this, that were done in places of education which cannot be done so well out of them—I say, if these steps were taken at home, while proper measures are carrying on abroad, the one would very much forward or facilitate the other. As it is not meant so it must not be understood, that foreign attempts should wait for domestic success, but only that it is to be wished they may co-operate. Certainly if a just and rational, a genuine and sincere, a warm and vigorous piety, animated the mother-country, the influence thereof would soon reach our foreign Plantations, and extend throughout their borders. We should soon see religion shine forth with new lustre and force, to the conversion of infidels, both at home and abroad, and to 'the casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ' (2 Cor. x. 5).

To whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be ascribed all praise, might, majesty, and dominion, now and for ever.

THIRD PERIOD OF AUTHORSHIP

1734–52

THE QUERIST

CONTAINING SEVERAL QUERIES

PROPOSED

TO THE CONSIDERATION OF THE PUBLIC

'I the Lord have brought down the high Tree, have exalted the low Tree, have dried up the green Tree, and have made the dry Tree to flourish.'—EZEK. xvii. 24.

First published in Three Parts in 1735, 1736, 1737, *and reduced to its present form in* 1750

EDITOR'S PREFACE

TO THE

QUERIST

THE *Querist* is the first in chronological order and also in importance of Berkeley's utterances regarding the Social, Economical, and Religious condition of Ireland that were given forth when he was Bishop of Cloyne.

The work appeared anonymously, in Three Parts, published severally in 1735, 1736, and 1737, at Dublin, 'printed by R. Reilly, on Cork Hill'—Parts I and II, 'for G. Risk, G. Ewing, and W. Smith, booksellers, in Dames Street,' and Part III 'for Jos. Leathley, bookseller, in Dames Street,' with this motto on the title-page—'Consult not with a merchant concerning exchange. Ecclus. c. xxxvii, v. 11.' This edition is among the rarest; I long sought for it in vain when my former edition of Berkeley's Works was in preparation, and at last discovered it in a collection of curious pamphlets in the Royal Irish Academy, after the Works were printed, but in time to place in an Appendix the numerous queries which were omitted by the author in the later editions. The Three Parts of the original edition contain 894 queries. A complete reprint of the Three Parts is given by Mr. Sampson, in an Appendix to his edition of the Works, but I have not judged it necessary thus to reproduce the whole.

The *Querist* reappeared in its present form in 1750, in London, 'printed for W. Innys, C. Davis, C. Hitch, W. Bowyer; and sold by M. Cooper, in Paternoster Row.

Price one shilling and sixpence'; with the author's name on the title-page, and his *Word to the Wise* appended. In that and the following editions, numerous queries contained in the original Three Parts were omitted, and forty-five new ones were introduced. The omissions are mostly of those concerned with the Bank of Ireland and matters of finance. An edition of the work, thus recast, appeared at Glasgow in 1751, the year in which Adam Smith became a Professor in that University[1]. It was included

[1] The Glasgow edition (which also appends the *Word to the Wise*) was 'printed by Robert and Andrew Fowlis.' It contains the following Preface :—

'The Printers to the Reader.

'This city and the neighbouring country have been of late years distinguished for their industry and application to the improvement of manufactures, trade, and agriculture, a like spirit diffusing itself over many parts of Scotland. We could wish, therefore, to render printing in this place not only subservient to religious literature, but also to the knowledge of trade and manufactures; and have of late applied ourselves particularly to republish some of the most remarkable books of that kind. We began with the celebrated Law's *Treatise on Money and Trade*. We reprinted Mr. Gee on *The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain*, as a book universally approved and esteemed. With the same view we have just now in the press Sir Josiah Child on *Trade and the Interest of Money*, and Mr. Law's other treatise, entitled *Proposals and Reasons for constituting a Council of Trade in Scotland*. In prosecution of the same plan, we have just now reprinted the *Querist*, originally printed in Dublin, which was put into our hands by a friend whom we look upon as a zealous lover of the improvements of his country.

'The *Querist* was wrote with a design to promote the improvement of Ireland, and appears to have had no small effects that way, from the public spirit which has of late years discovered itself, and seems every year to increase, in that kingdom.

'We see nowhere such noble Associations, such generous zeal, such extensive attention among the gentlemen to promote, by well-judged premiums, every valuable branch of manufacture, and every improvement beneficial to their country.

'If reprinting this small work here shall contribute to make it more generally known and attended to among us, the Printers flatter themselves they will have done a thing acceptable to every one who is a lover of the improvement of his country. We have nowhere found, in so small a compass, so just and extensive a view of the true sources of wealth and happiness to a country; so many valuable hints for improving the necessary, the useful, and the ornamental arts. Many of these are at least as far behind still in this country as in Ireland.

'"Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur."

'Glasgow, *January* 10, 1751.'

in Berkeley's *Miscellany* in the next year. Several reprints followed.

In 1829 the *Querist* was published in London, 'with notes shewing how many of the same questions still remain to be asked respecting Ireland.'

I have placed in an Appendix to this volume the queries that were withdrawn by the author in the second edition, numbered as in the Three Parts, and I have also noted, under the amended text, their places in the original edition. The queries that were added in 1750 are marked by brackets. The reader is thus enabled to reconstruct the *Querist* in its original form.

The *Querist* marks Berkeley's first appearance as a political economist, moved by his new ecclesiastical position and responsibilities to suggest economical lessons which he had pondered, for the consideration of his countrymen; among whom he now found himself, in later life, after years of wandering and much experience of men and things. Its pervading note is that individual industry is the soul of social and economical prosperity; that the remedy for the social evils of Ireland lies with Irishmen themselves, who must be roused out of their indolent satisfaction with 'habitations and furniture more sordid than those of the savage Americans.' So he asks 'Whether the fable of Hercules and the carter ever suited any nation like this of Ireland? Whose fault it is if poor Ireland continues poor? Whether the four elements, and man's labour therein, be not the true source of wealth? Whether if human labour be the true source of wealth, it doth not follow that idleness should of all things be discouraged in a free state? Whether the bulk of our Irish peasantry are not kept from thriving by that cynical content in dirt and beggary which they possess to a degree beyond any other in Christendom?' Yet he did not forget the chronic

injustice of England to Ireland continued in the eighteenth century, or the indisposition of all parties to recognise that what was for the good of each was for the good of all. He asks 'Whether it be not the true interest of England and Ireland to become one people, and whether either be sufficiently apprised of this? Whether a scheme for the welfare of the nation should not take in the whole inhabitants?' and 'Whether it was not a vain attempt to project the flourishing of our Protestant gentry, exclusive of the bulk of the natives?' It is one of his highest boasts, as Sir James Mackintosh remarks, 'that, though of English extraction, he was a true Irishman, and the first eminent Protestant, after the unhappy contest of the Revolution, who avowed his love for all his countrymen. The patriotism of Berkeley was not, like that of Swift, tainted by disappointed ambition; nor was it, like Swift's, confined to a colony of English Protestants. Perhaps the *Querist* contains more hints, then original, still unapplied in legislation and political economy, than are to be found in any equal space.' It appeared forty years before the *Wealth of Nations*, eight years before the political and economical *Essays* of David Hume, and when Turgot was still a boy. Yet some of its pregnant suggestions anticipate leading doctrines of those illustrious economists; and they are presented with an originality of literary art, combined with humour and irony, which makes the work more interesting to a sympathetic reader than any similar book in English literature. Its form of expression is characteristic of Berkeley, especially in later life: the *Analyst* ends with a series of queries, and he is apt in his letters to pass from the categorical to the interrogative form.

ADVERTISEMENT BY THE AUTHOR[1]

THE *Querist* was first printed in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five; since which time the face of things is somewhat changed. In this edition some alterations have been made. The three Parts are published in one; some few Queries are added, and many omitted—particularly of those relating to the sketch or plan of a National Bank, which it may be time enough to take again in hand when the public shall seem disposed to make use of such an expedient. I had determined with myself never to prefix my name to the *Querist*; but in the last edition[2] was overruled by a friend, who was remarkable for pursuing the public interest with as much diligence as others do their own[3]. I apprehend the same censure on this that I incurred upon another occasion, for meddling out of my profession[4]. Though to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, by promoting an honest industry, will, perhaps, be deemed no improper employment for a clergyman who still thinks himself a member of the commonwealth. As the sum of human happiness is supposed to consist in the goods of mind, body, and fortune, I would fain make my studies of some use to mankind with regard to each of these three particulars, and hope it will not be thought faulty or indecent in any man, of what profession soever, to offer his mite towards improving the manners, health, and prosperity of his fellow creatures.

[1] This 'Advertisement' was prefixed to the edition issued in the *Miscellany* of 1752.

[2] The edition of 1750.

[3] Prior was probably the friend referred to.

[4] The tar-water controversy, occasioned by *Siris*, in which Berkeley was censured on this ground, e. g. in *Anti-Siris*.

THE QUERIST[1]

Query 1. WHETHER there ever was, is, or will be, an industrious nation poor, or an idle rich?

2. Whether a people can be called poor, where the common sort are well fed, clothed, and lodged?

3. Whether the drift and aim of every wise state should not be, to encourage industry in its members? And whether those who employ neither heads nor hands for the common benefit deserve not to be expelled like drones out of a well-governed state?

4. Whether the four elements, and man's labour therein, be not the true source of wealth?

5. Whether money be not only so far useful, as it stirreth up industry, enabling men mutually to participate the fruits of each other's labour?

6. Whether any other means, equally conducing to excite and circulate the industry of mankind, may not be as useful as money?

7. Whether the real end and aim of men be not power? And whether he who could have everything else at his wish or will would value money?

8. Whether the public aim in every well-governed state be not that each member, according to his just pretensions and industry, should have power?

9. Whether power be not referred to action; and whether action doth not follow appetite or will?

[1] The *Querist* seems to have been the cause, or the consequence, of efforts, on an extensive scale, by patriotic Irish gentlemen — pre-eminent among whom was Thomas Prior, Berkeley's life-long friend and correspondent — to promote agriculture, manufactures, and commerce in Ireland. Hence the *Dublin Society Essays* on those questions. These *Essays* appeared weekly in 1737 and 1738, and were published collectively, in Dublin and London, in 1740.

10. Whether fashion doth not create appetites; and whether the prevailing will of a nation is not the fashion?

11. Whether the current of industry and commerce be not determined by this prevailing will?

12. Whether it be not owing to custom that the fashions are agreeable?

13. Whether it may not concern the wisdom of the legislature to interpose in the making of fashions; and not leave an affair of so great influence to the management of women and fops, tailors and vintners?

14. Whether reasonable fashions are a greater restraint on freedom than those which are unreasonable?

15. Whether a general good taste in a people would not greatly conduce to their thriving? And whether an uneducated gentry be not the greatest of national evils?

16. Whether customs and fashions do not supply the place of reason in the vulgar of all ranks? Whether, therefore, it doth not very much import that they should be wisely framed?

17. Whether the imitating those neighbours in our fashions, to whom we bear no likeness in our circumstances, be not one cause of distress to this nation?

18. Whether frugal fashions in the upper rank, and comfortable living in the lower, be not the means to multiply inhabitants?

19. Whether the bulk of our Irish natives are not kept from thriving, by that cynical content in dirt and beggary which they possess to a degree beyond any other people in Christendom?

20. Whether the creating of wants be not the likeliest way to produce industry in a people? And whether, if our peasants were accustomed to eat beef and wear shoes, they would not be more industrious?

21. Whether other things being given, as climate, soil, &c., the wealth be not proportioned to the industry; and this to the circulation of credit, be the credit circulated or transferred by what marks or tokens soever?

22. Whether, therefore, less money, swiftly circulating, be not, in effect, equivalent to more money slowly circulating? Or, whether, if the circulation be reciprocally as the quantity of coin, the nation can be a loser?

23. Whether money is to be considered as having an

intrinsic value, or as being a commodity, a standard, a measure, or a pledge, as is variously suggested by writers? And whether the true idea of money, as such, be not altogether that of a ticket or counter?

24. Whether the value or price of things be not a compounded proportion, directly as the demand, and reciprocally as the plenty?

25. Whether the terms crown, livre, pound sterling, &c., are not to be considered as exponents or denominations of such proportion? And whether gold, silver, and paper are not tickets or counters for reckoning, recording, and transferring thereof?

26. Whether the denominations being retained, although the bullion were gone, things might not nevertheless be rated, bought, and sold, industry promoted, and a circulation of commerce maintained?

27. Whether an equal raising of all sorts of gold, silver, and copper coin can have any effect in bringing money into the kingdom? And whether altering the proportions between the several sorts can have any other effect but multiplying one kind and lessening another, without any increase of the sum total?

28. Whether arbitrary changing the denomination of coin be not a public cheat[1]?

29. What makes a wealthy people? Whether mines of gold and silver are capable of doing this? And whether the negroes, amidst the gold sands of Afric, are not poor and destitute?

30. Whether there be any virtue in gold or silver, other than as they set people at work, or create industry?

31. Whether it be not the opinion or will of the people, exciting them to industry, that truly enricheth a nation? And whether this doth not principally depend on the means for counting, transferring, and preserving power; that is, property of all kinds?

32. Whether, if there was no silver or gold in the kingdom, our trade might not, nevertheless, supply bills of exchange, sufficient to answer the demands of absentees in England or elsewhere?

[1] Queries 29, 30, in Part I of the 1735 edition, follow here.

33. Whether current bank-notes may not be deemed money? And whether they are not actually the greater part of the money of this kingdom?

34. Provided the wheels move, whether it is not the same thing, as to the effect of the machine, be this done by the force of wind, or water, or animals?

35. Whether power to command the industry of others be not real wealth? And whether money be not in truth tickets or tokens, for conveying and recording such power; and whether it be of great consequence what materials the tickets are made of?

36. Whether trade, either foreign or domestic, be in truth any more than this commerce of industry?

37. Whether to promote, transfer, and secure this commerce, and this property in human labour, or, in other words, this power, be not the sole means of enriching a people; and how far this may be done independently of gold and silver?

38. Whether it were not wrong to suppose land itself to be wealth? And whether the industry of the people is not first to be considered, as that which constitutes wealth, which makes even land and silver to be wealth; neither of which would have any value but as means and motives to industry?

39. Whether in the wastes of America a man might not possess twenty miles square of land, and yet want his dinner, or a coat to his back?

40. Whether a fertile land, and the industry of its inhabitants, would not prove inexhaustible funds of real wealth, be the counters for conveying and recording thereof what you will, paper, gold, or silver?

41. Whether a single hint be sufficient to overcome a prejudice? And whether even obvious truths will not sometimes bear repeating?

42. Whether, if human labour be the true source of wealth, it doth not follow that idleness should of all things be discouraged in a wise state?

43. Whether even gold, or silver, if they should lessen the industry of its inhabitants, would not be ruinous to a country? And whether Spain be not an instance of this?

44. Whether the opinion of men, and their industry consequent thereupon, be not the true wealth of Holland,

and not the silver supposed to be deposited in the bank at Amsterdam?

45. Whether there is in truth any such treasure lying dead? And whether it be of great consequence to the public that it should be real rather than notional?

46. Whether, in order to understand the true nature of wealth and commerce, it would not be right to consider a ship's crew cast upon a desert island, and by degrees forming themselves to business and civil life; while industry begot credit, and credit moved to industry?

47. Whether such men would not all set themselves to work? Whether they would not subsist by the mutual participation of each other's industry? Whether, when one man had in his way procured more than he could consume, he would not exchange his superfluities to supply his wants? Whether this must not produce credit? Whether, to facilitate these conveyances, to record and circulate this credit, they would not soon agree on certain tallies, tokens, tickets, or counters?

48. Whether reflexion in the better sort might not soon remedy our evils? And whether our real defect be not a wrong way of thinking?

49. Whether it would not be an unhappy turn in our gentlemen, if they should take no more thought to create an interest to themselves in this or that county, or borough, than to promote the real interest of their country[1]?

50. Whether if a man builds a house he doth not in the first place provide a plan which governs his work? And shall the public act without an end, a view, a plan?

51. Whether by how much the less particular folk think for themselves, the public be not so much the more obliged to think for them[2]?

52. Whether small gains be not the way to great profit? And if our tradesmen are beggars, whether they may not thank themselves for it?

53. Whether some way might not be found for making criminals useful in public works, instead of sending them either to America, or to the other world?

[1] Query 52, in Part I, follows in first edition.

[2] Query 55, in Part I, follows in first edition.

54. Whether we may not, as well as other nations, contrive employment for them? And whether servitude, chains, and hard labour, for a term of years, would not be a more discouraging, as well as a more adequate punishment for felons than even death itself?

55. Whether there are not such things in Holland as bettering houses for bringing young gentlemen to order? And whether such an institution would be useless among us?

56. Whether it be true that the poor in Holland have no resource but their own labour, and yet there are no beggars in their streets?

57. Whether he whose luxury consumeth foreign products, and whose industry produceth nothing domestic to exchange for them, is not so far forth injurious to his country[1]?

58. Whether necessity is not to be hearkened to before convenience, and convenience before luxury?

59. Whether to provide plentifully for the poor be not feeding the root, the substance whereof will shoot upwards into the branches, and cause the top to flourish?

60. Whether there be any instance of a State wherein the people, living neatly and plentifully, did not aspire to wealth?

61. Whether nastiness and beggary do not, on the contrary, extinguish all such ambition, making men listless, hopeless, and slothful?

62. Whether a country inhabited by a people well fed, clothed, and lodged would not become every day more populous? And whether a numerous stock of people in such circumstances would not constitute a flourishing nation? and how far the product of our own country may suffice for the compassing this end?

63. Whether a people who had provided themselves with the necessaries of life in good plenty would not soon extend their industry to new arts and new branches of commerce?

64. Whether those same manufactures which England imports from other countries may not be admitted from

[1] Query 62, Part I, follows in first edition.

Ireland? And, if so, whether lace, carpets, and tapestry, three considerable articles of English importation, might not find encouragement in Ireland? And whether an Academy for Design might not greatly conduce to the perfecting those manufactures among us?

65. Whether France and Flanders could have drawn so much money from England for figured silks, lace, and tapestry, if they had not had Academies for designing?

66. Whether, when a room was once prepared, and models in plaster of Paris, the annual expense of such an Academy need stand the public in above two hundred pounds a year?

67. Whether our linen-manufacture would not find the benefit of this institution? And whether there be anything that makes us fall short of the Dutch in damasks, diapers, and printed linen, but our ignorance in design[1]?

68. Whether those who may slight this affair as notional have sufficiently considered the extensive use of the art of design, and its influence in most trades and manufactures, wherein the forms of things are often more regarded than the materials[2]?

69. Whether there be any art sooner learned than that of making carpets? And whether our women, with little time and pains, may not make more beautiful carpets than those imported from Turkey? And whether this branch of the woollen manufacture be not open to us?

70. Whether human industry can produce, from such cheap materials, a manufacture of so great value, by any other art, as by those of sculpture and painting?

71. Whether pictures and statues are not in fact so much treasure? And whether Rome and Florence would not be poor towns without them?

72. Whether they do not bring ready money as well as jewels? Whether in Italy debts are not paid, and children portioned with them, as with gold and silver?

73. Whether it would not be more prudent, to strike

[1] Query 73, Part I, follows in first edition.

[2] [Since the first publication of this Query, the Art of Design seems to be more considered and countenanced among us.]—AUTHOR.

out and exert ourselves in permitted branches of trade, than to fold our hands, and repine that we are not allowed the woollen?

74. Whether it be true that two millions are yearly expended by England in foreign lace and linen?

75. Whether immense sums are not drawn yearly into the Northern countries, for supplying the British navy with hempen manufactures?

76. Whether there be anything more profitable than hemp? And whether there should not be greater premiums for encouraging our hempen trade? What advantages may not Great Britain make of a country where land and labour are so cheap?

77. Whether Ireland alone might not raise hemp sufficient for the British navy? And whether it would not be vain to expect this from the British Colonies in America, where hands are so scarce, and labour so excessively dear?

78. Whether, if our own people want will or capacity for such an attempt, it might not be worth while for some undertaking spirits in England to make settlements, and raise hemp in the counties of Clare and Limerick, than which, perhaps, there is not fitter land in the world for that purpose? And whether both nations would not find their advantage therein?

79. Whether if all the idle hands in this kingdom were employed on hemp and flax, we might not find sufficient vent for these manufactures?

80. How far it may be in our own power to better our affairs, without interfering with our neighbours?

81. Whether the prohibition of our woollen trade ought not naturally to put us on other methods which give no jealousy?

82. Whether paper be not a valuable article of commerce? And whether it be not true that one single bookseller in London yearly expended above four thousand pounds in that foreign commodity?

83. How it comes to pass that the Venetians and Genoese, who wear so much less linen, and so much worse than we do, should yet make very good paper, and in great quantity, while we make very little?

84. How long it will be before my countrymen find out

that it is worth while to spend a penny in order to get a groat?

85. If all the land were tilled that is fit for tillage, and all that sowed with hemp and flax that is fit for raising them, whether we should have much sheep-walk beyond what was sufficient to supply the necessities of the kingdom?

86. Whether other countries have not flourished without the woollen-trade?

87. Whether it be not a sure sign, or effect of a country's thriving, to see it well cultivated and full of inhabitants? And, if so, whether a great quantity of sheep-walk be not ruinous to a country; rendering it waste and thinly inhabited?

88. Whether the employing so much of our land under sheep be not in fact an Irish blunder?

89. Whether our hankering after our woollen-trade be not the true and only reason which hath created a jealousy in England towards Ireland? And whether anything can hurt us more than such jealousy?

90. Whether it be not the true interest of both nations to become one people? And whether either be sufficiently apprised of this?

91. Whether the upper part of this people are not truly English, by blood, language, religion, manners, inclination, and interest?

92. Whether we are not as much Englishmen as the children of old Romans, born in Britain, were still Romans?

93. Whether it be not our true interest, not to interfere with them; and, in every other case, whether it be not their true interest to befriend us?

94. Whether a mint in Ireland might not be of great convenience to the kingdom; and whether it could be attended with any possible inconvenience to Great Britain? And whether there were not mints in Naples and in Sicily, when those kingdoms were provinces to Spain, or the house of Austria?

95. Whether anything can be more ridiculous than for the north of Ireland to be jealous of a linen manufacture in the south?

96. Whether the county of Tipperary be not much

better land than the county of Armagh ; and yet whether the latter is not much better improved and inhabited than the former ?

97. Whether every landlord in the kingdom doth not know the cause of this ? And yet how few are the better for such their knowledge ?

98. Whether large farms under few hands, or small ones under many are likely to be made most of ? And whether flax and tillage do not naturally multiply hands, and divide lands into small holdings, and well-improved ?

99. Whether, as our exports are lessened, we ought not to lessen our imports ? And whether these will not be lessened as our demands, and these as our wants, and these as our customs or fashions ? Of how great consequence therefore are fashions to the public ?

100. Whether it would not be more reasonable to mend our state than complain of it ; and how far this may be in our own power ?

101. What the nation gains by those who live in Ireland upon the produce of foreign countries ?

102. How far the vanity of our ladies in dressing, and of our gentlemen in drinking, contribute to the general misery of the people ?

103. Whether nations, as wise and opulent as ours, have not made sumptuary laws ; and what hinders us from doing the same ?

104. Whether those who drink foreign liquors, and deck themselves and their families with foreign ornaments, are not so far forth to be reckoned absentees ?

105. Whether, as our trade is limited, we ought not to limit our expenses ; and whether this be not the natural and obvious remedy ?

106. Whether the dirt, and famine, and nakedness of the bulk of our people might not be remedied, even although we had no foreign trade ? And whether this should not be our first care ; and whether, if this were once provided for, the conveniences of the rich would not soon follow ?

107. Whether comfortable living doth not produce wants, and wants industry, and industry wealth ?

108. Whether there is not a great difference between Holland and Ireland ? And whether foreign commerce,

without which the one could not subsist, be so necessary for the other?

109. Might we not put a hand to the plough, or the spade, although we had no foreign commerce?

110. Whether the exigencies of nature are not to be answered by industry on our own soil? And how far the conveniences and comforts of life may be procured, by a domestic commerce between the several parts of this kingdom?

111. Whether the women may not sew, spin, weave, embroider, sufficiently for the embellishment of their persons, and even enough to raise envy in each other, without being beholden to foreign countries?

112. Suppose the bulk of our inhabitants had shoes to their feet, clothes to their backs, and beef in their bellies, might not such a state be eligible for the public; even though the squires were condemned to drink ale and cider?

113. Whether, if drunkenness be a necessary evil, men may not as well get drunk with the growth of their own country?

114. Whether a nation within itself might not have real wealth, sufficient to give its inhabitants power and distinction, without the help of gold and silver?

115. Whether, if the arts of sculpture and painting were encouraged among us, we might not furnish our houses in a much nobler manner with our own manufactures?

116. Whether we have not, or may not have, all the necessary materials for building at home?

117. Whether tiles and plaster may not supply the place of Norway fir for flooring and wainscot?

118. Whether plaster be not warmer, as well as more secure, than deal? And whether a modern fashionable house, lined with fir, daubed over with oil and paint, be not like a fire-ship, ready to be lighted up by all accidents?

119. Whether larger houses, better built and furnished, a greater train of servants, the difference with regard to equipage and table between finer and coarser, more or less elegant, may not be sufficient to feed a reasonable share of vanity, or support all proper distinctions? And whether all these may not be procured by domestic industry out of the four elements, without ransacking the four quarters of the globe?

120. Whether anything is a nobler ornament, in the eye of the world, than an Italian palace, that is, stone and mortar skilfully put together, and adorned with sculpture and painting; and whether this may not be compassed without foreign trade?

121. Whether an expense in gardens and plantations would not be an elegant distinction for the rich; a domestic magnificence, employing many hands within, and drawing nothing from abroad?

122. Whether the apology which is made for foreign luxury in England, to wit, that they could not carry on their trade without imports as well as exports, will hold in Ireland?

123. Whether one may not be allowed to conceive and suppose a society, or nation of human creatures, clad in woollen cloths and stuffs, eating good bread, beef, and mutton, poultry, and fish, in great plenty, drinking ale, mead, and cider, inhabiting decent houses built of brick and marble, taking their pleasure in fair parks and gardens, depending on no foreign imports either for food or raiment? And whether such people ought much to be pitied?

124. Whether Ireland be not as well qualified for such a state as any nation under the sun?

125. Whether in such a state the inhabitants may not contrive to pass the twenty-fours with tolerable ease and cheerfulness? And whether any people upon earth can do more?

126. Whether they may not eat, drink, play, dress, visit, sleep in good beds, sit by good fires, build, plant, raise a name, make estates, and spend them?

127. Whether, upon the whole, a domestic trade may not suffice in such a country as Ireland, to nourish and clothe its inhabitants, and provide them with the reasonable conveniences and even comforts of life?

128. Whether a general habit of living well would not produce numbers and industry; and whether, considering the tendency of human kind, the consequence thereof would not be foreign trade and riches, how unnecessary soever?

129. Whether, nevertheless, it be a crime to inquire how far we may do without foreign trade, and what would follow on such a supposition?

130. Whether the number and welfare of the subjects be not the true strength of the crown?

131. Whether in all public institutions there should not be an end proposed, which is to be the rule and limit of the means? Whether this end should not be the well-being of the whole? And whether, in order to this, the first step should not be to clothe and feed our people?

132. Whether there be upon earth any Christian or civilised people, so beggarly, wretched, and destitute as the common Irish?

133. Whether, nevertheless, there is any other people whose wants may be more easily supplied from home?

134. Whether, if there was a wall of brass a thousand cubits high round this kingdom, our natives might not nevertheless live cleanly and comfortably, till the land, and reap the fruits of it?

135. What should hinder us from exerting ourselves, using our hands and brains, doing something or other, man, woman, and child, like the other inhabitants of God's earth?

136. Be the restraining our trade well or ill advised in our neighbours, with respect to their own interest, yet whether it be not plainly ours to accommodate ourselves to it?

137. Whether it be not vain to think of persuading other people to see their interest, while we continue blind to our own?

138. Whether there be any other nation possessed of so much good land, and so many able hands to work it, which yet is beholden for bread to foreign countries?

139. Whether it be true that we import corn to the value of two hundred thousand pounds in some years[1]?

140. Whether we are not undone by fashions made for other people? And whether it be not madness in a poor nation to imitate a rich one?

141. Whether a woman of fashion ought not to be declared a public enemy?

142. Whether it be not certain that from the single town of Cork were exported, in one year, no less than

[1] [Things are now better in respect of this particular, and some others, than they were when the *Querist* was first published.]—AUTHOR.

one hundred and seven thousand one hundred and sixty-one barrels of beef; seven thousand three hundred and seventy-nine barrels of pork; thirteen thousand four hundred and sixty-one casks, and eighty-five thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven firkins of butter? And what hands were employed in this manufacture?

143. Whether a foreigner could imagine that one-half of the people were starving, in a country which sent out such plenty of provisions?

144. Whether an Irish lady, set out with French silks and Flanders lace, may not be said to consume more beef and butter than a hundred of our labouring peasants?

145. Whether nine-tenths of our foreign trade be not carried on singly to support the article of vanity?

146. Whether it can be hoped that private persons will not indulge this folly, unless restrained by the public?

147. How vanity is maintained in other countries? Whether in Hungary, for instance, a proud nobility are not subsisted with small imports from abroad?

148. Whether there be a prouder people upon earth than the noble Venetians, although they all wear plain black clothes?

149. Whether a people are to be pitied that will not sacrifice their little particular vanities to the public good? And yet, whether each part would not except their own foible from this public sacrifice, the squire his bottle, the lady her lace?

150. Whether claret be not often drunk rather for vanity than for health, or pleasure?

151. Whether it be true that men of nice palates have been imposed on, by elder wine for French claret, and by mead for palm sack?

152. Do not Englishmen abroad purchase beer and cider at ten times the price of wine?

153. How many gentlemen are there in England of a thousand pounds per annum who never drink wine in their own houses? Whether the same may be said of any in Ireland who have even one hundred pounds per annum?

154. What reason have our neighbours in England for discouraging French wines which may not hold with respect to us also?

155. How much of the necessary sustenance of our people is yearly exported for brandy?

156. Whether, if people must poison themselves, they had not better do it with their own growth?

157. If we imported neither claret from France, nor fir from Norway, what the nation would save by it?

158. When the root yieldeth insufficient nourishment, whether men do not top the tree to make the lower branches thrive?

159. Whether, if our ladies drank sage or balm tea out of Irish ware, it would be an insupportable national calamity?

160. Whether it be really true that such wine is best as most encourages drinking, i. e. that must be given in the largest dose to produce its effect? And whether this holds with regard to any other medicine?

161. Whether that trade should not be accounted most pernicious wherein the balance is most against us? And whether this be not the trade with France?

162. Whether it be not even madness to encourage trade with a nation that takes nothing of our manufacture?

163. Whether Ireland can hope to thrive if the major part of her patriots shall be found in the French interest?

[164. Whether great plenty and variety of excellent wines are not to be had on the coasts of Italy and Sicily? And whether those countries would not take our commodities of linen, leather, butter, &c. in exchange for them?

165. Particularly, whether the *Vinum Mamertinum*, which grows on the mountains about Messina, a red generous wine, highly esteemed (if we may credit Pliny) by the ancient Romans, would not come cheap, and please the palates of our Islanders[1]?]

166. Why, if a bribe by the palate or the purse be in effect the same thing, they should not be alike infamous?

167. Whether the vanity and luxury of a few ought to stand in competition with the interest of a nation?

168. Whether national wants ought not to be the rule of trade? And whether the most pressing wants of the majority ought not to be first considered?

[1] Queries 164, 165 were introduced in the second edition.

169. Whether it is possible the country should be well improved, while our beef is exported, and our labourers live upon potatoes?

170. If it be resolved that we cannot do without foreign trade, whether, at least, it may not be worth while to consider what branches thereof deserve to be entertained, and how far we may be able to carry it on under our present limitations?

171. What foreign imports may be necessary for clothing and feeding the families of persons not worth above one hundred pounds a year? And how many wealthier there are in the kingdom, and what proportion they bear to the other inhabitants?

172. Whether trade be not then on a right foot, when foreign commodities are imported in exchange only for domestic superfluities?

173. Whether the quantities of beef, butter, wool, and leather, exported from this island, can be reckoned the superfluities of a country, where there are so many natives naked and famished?

174. Whether it would not be wise so to order our trade as to export manufactures rather than provisions, and of those such as employ most hands?

175. Whether she would not be a very vile matron, and justly thought either mad or foolish, that should give away the necessaries of life from her naked and famished children, in exchange for pearls to stick in her hair, and sweetmeats to please her own palate?

176. Whether a nation might not be considered as a family?

[177. Whether the remark made by a Venetian ambassador to Cardinal Richelieu—'That France needed nothing to be rich and easy, but to know how to spend what she dissipates,' may not be of use also to other people?

178. Whether hungry cattle will not leap over bounds? And whether most men are not hungry in a country where expensive fashions obtain?

179. Whether there should not be published yearly schedules of our trade, containing an account of the imports and exports of the foregoing year[1]?]

[1] Queries 177–79 introduced in the second edition.

180. Whether other methods may not be found for supplying the funds, besides the custom on things imported?

181. Whether any art or manufacture be so difficult as the making of good laws?

182. Whether our peers and gentlemen are born legislators? Or, whether that faculty be acquired by study and reflexion?

183. Whether to comprehend the real interest of a people, and the means to procure it, do not imply some fund of knowledge, historical, moral, and political, with a faculty of reason improved by learning?

184. Whether every enemy to learning be not a Goth? And whether every such Goth among us be not an enemy to the country?

185. Whether, therefore, it would not be an omen of ill presage, a dreadful phenomenon in the land, if our great men should take it in their heads to deride learning and education?

186. Whether, on the contrary, it should not seem worth while to erect a mart of literature in this kingdom, under wise regulations and better discipline than in any other part of Europe? And whether this would not be an infallible means of drawing men and money into the kingdom?

187. Whether the governed be not too numerous for the governing part of our College[1]? And whether it might not be expedient to convert thirty natives-places into twenty fellowships?

188. Whether, if we had two Colleges, there might not spring a useful emulation between them? And whether it might not be contrived so to divide the fellows, scholars, and revenues, between both, as that no member should be a loser thereby?

189. Whether ten thousand pounds well laid out might not build a decent College, fit to contain two hundred persons; and whether the purchase-money of the chambers would not go a good way towards defraying the expense?

190. Where this College should be situated?

[191. Whether, in imitation of the Jesuits at Paris, who

[1] Trinity College, Dublin.

admit Protestants to study in their colleges, it may not be right for us also to admit Roman Catholics into our College, without obliging them to attend chapel duties, or catechisms, or divinity lectures? And whether this might not keep money in the kingdom, and prevent the prejudices of a foreign education[1]?]

192. Whether it is possible a State should not thrive, whereof the lower part were industrious, and the upper wise?

193. Whether the collected wisdom of ages and nations be not found in books?

[194. Whether Themistocles his art of making a little city, or a little people, become a great one be learned anywhere so well as in the writings of the ancients?

195. Whether a wise State hath any interest nearer heart than the education of youth?

196. Whether the mind, like soil, doth not by disuse grow stiff; and whether reasoning and study be not like stirring and dividing the glebe?

197. Whether an early habit of reflexion, although obtained by speculative sciences, may not have its use in practical affairs?

198. Whether even those parts of academical learning which are quite forgotten may not have improved and enriched the soil; like those vegetables which are raised, not for themselves, but ploughed in for a dressing of land[2]?]

199. Whether it was not an Irish professor who first opened the public schools at Oxford? Whether this island hath not been anciently famous for learning? And whether at this day it hath any better chance of being considerable?

200. Whether we may not with better grace sit down and complain, when we have done all that lies in our power to help ourselves?

201. Whether the gentleman of estate hath a right to be idle; and whether he ought not to be the great promoter and director of industry among his tenants and neighbours?

[202. Whether in the cantons of Switzerland all under

[1] Query 191 introduced in second edition.

[2] Queries 194–98 introduced in second edition.

thirty years of age are not excluded from their great councils?

203. Whether Homer's compendium of education,

Μύθων μὲν ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι, πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων.—*Iliad* ix.

would not be a good rule for modern educators of youth? And whether half the learning and study of these kingdoms is not useless, for want of a proper delivery and punctuation being taught in our schools and colleges?

204. Whether in any order a good building can be made of bad materials? Or whether any form of government can make a happy state out of bad individuals?

205. What was it that Solomon compared to a jewel of gold in a swine's snout?

206. Whether the public is more concerned in anything than in the procreation of able citizens?

207. Whether to the multiplying of human kind, it would not much conduce, if marriages were made with good-liking?

208. Whether, if women had no portions, we should then see so many unhappy and unfruitful marriages?

209. Whether the laws be not, according to Aristotle, a mind without appetite or passion? And consequently without respect of persons?

210. Suppose a rich man's son marries a poor man's daughter, suppose also that a poor man's daughter is deluded and debauched by the son of a rich man; which is most to be pitied?

211. Whether the punishment should be placed on the seduced or the seducer?

212. Whether a promise made before God and man in the most solemn manner ought to be violated?

213. Whether it was Plato's opinion that, 'for the good of the community, rich should marry with rich?'—*De Leg.* Lib. iv.

214. Whether, as seed equally scattered produceth a goodly harvest, even so an equal distribution of wealth doth not cause a nation to flourish?

215. Whence is it that Barbs and Arabs are so good horses? And whether in those countries they are not exactly nice in admitting none but males of a good kind to their mares?

216. What effects would the same care produce in families[1]?]

217. Whether the real foundation for wealth must not be laid in the numbers, the frugality, and the industry of the people? And whether all attempts to enrich a nation by other means, as raising the coin, stockjobbing, and such arts, are not vain?

218. Whether a door ought not to be shut against all other methods of growing rich, save only by industry and merit? And whether wealth got otherwise would not be ruinous to the public?

219. Whether the abuse of banks and paper-money is a just objection against the use thereof? And whether such abuse might not easily be prevented?

220. Whether national banks are not found useful in Venice, Holland, and Hamburgh? And whether it is not possible to contrive one that may be useful also in Ireland[2]?

221. Whether the banks of Venice and Amsterdam are not in the hands of the public?

222. Whether it may not be worth while to inform ourselves in the nature of those banks? And what reason can be assigned why Ireland should not reap the benefit of such public banks as well as other countries?

223. Whether a bank of national credit, supported by public funds and secured by Parliament, be a chimera or impossible thing? And if not, what would follow from the supposal of such a bank?

224. Whether the currency of a credit so well secured would not be of great advantage to our trade and manufactures?

225. Whether the notes of such public bank would not have a more general circulation than those of private banks, as being less subject to frauds and hazards?

226. Whether it be not agreed that paper hath in many respects the advantage above coin, as being of more dispatch in payments, more easily transferred, preserved, and recovered when lost?

227. Whether, besides these advantages, there be not

[1] Queries 202–16 introduced in later edition.

[2] Query 201, Part I, follows in first edition.

an evident necessity for circulating credit by paper, from the defect of coin in this kingdom[1]?

228. Whether it be rightly remarked by some that, as banking brings no treasure into the kingdom like trade, private wealth must sink as the bank riseth? And whether whatever causeth industry to flourish and circulate may not be said to increase our treasure?

229. Whether the ruinous effects of the Mississippi, South Sea, and such schemes were not owing to an abuse of paper-money or credit, in making it a means for idleness and gaming, instead of a motive and help to industry[2]?

230. Whether the rise of the bank of Amsterdam was not purely casual, for the sake of security and dispatch of payments? And whether the good effects thereof, in supplying the place of coin, and promoting a ready circulation of industry and commerce, may not be a lesson to us, to do that by design which others fell upon by chance[3]?

231. Whether plenty of small cash be not absolutely necessary for keeping up a circulation among the people; that is, whether copper be not more necessary than gold[4]?

232. Whether that which increaseth the stock of a nation be not a means of increasing its trade? And whether that which increaseth the current credit of a nation may not be said to increase its stock[5]?

[233. Whether the credit of the public funds be not a mine of gold to England? And whether any step that should lessen this credit ought not to be dreaded?

234. Whether such credit be not the principal advantage that England hath over France? I may add, over every other country in Europe?

235. Whether by this the public is not become possessed of the wealth of foreigners as well as natives? And whether England be not in some sort the treasury of Christendom[6]?]

236. Whether, as our current domestic credit grew,

[1] Queries 209–18, Part I, follow in first edition.

[2] Queries 221–24, Part I, follow in first edition.

[3] Query 226, Part I, follows in first edition.

[4] Query 228, Part I, follows in first edition.

[5] Queries 230–53, Part I, follow in first edition.

[6] Queries 233–35 introduced in second edition.

industry would not grow likewise; and if industry, our manufactures; and if these, our foreign credit[1]?

[237. Whether foreign demands may not be answered by our exports without drawing cash out of the kingdom[2]?]

238. Whether, as industry increased, our manufactures would not flourish; and as these flourished, whether better returns would not be made from estates to their landlords, both within and without the kingdom[3]?

239. Whether the sure way to supply people with tools and materials, and to set them at work, be not a free circulation of money, whether silver or paper?

240. Whether in New England all trade and business are not as much at a stand, upon a scarcity of paper-money, as with us from the want of specie[4]?

241. Whether it be certain that the quantity of silver in the bank of Amsterdam be greater now than at first; but whether it be not certain that there is a greater circulation of industry and extent of trade, more people, ships, houses, and commodities of all sorts, more power by sea and land?

242. Whether money, lying dead in the bank of Amsterdam, would not be as useless as in the mine?

243. Whether our visible security in land could be doubted? And whether there be anything like this in the bank of Amsterdam?

244. Whether it be just to apprehend danger from trusting a national bank with power to extend its credit, to circulate notes which it shall be felony to counterfeit, to receive goods on loans, to purchase lands, to sell also or alienate them, and to deal in bills of exchange; when these powers are no other than have been trusted for many years with the bank of England, although in truth but a private bank?

245. Whether the objection from monopolies and an overgrowth of power, which are made against private banks, can possibly hold against a national one[5]?

[1] Queries 255–59, Part I, follow in first edition.

[2] Query 237 introduced in second edition.

[3] Queries 261–64, Part I, follow in first edition.

[4] Query 267, Part I, follows in first edition.

[5] Query 273, Part I, follows in first edition.

246. Whether the evil effects which of late years have attended paper-money and credit in Europe did not spring from subscriptions, shares, dividends, and stockjobbing?

247. Whether the great evils attending paper-money in the British Plantations of America have not sprung from the over-rating their lands, and issuing paper without discretion, and from the legislators breaking their own rules in favour of themselves, thus sacrificing the public to their own private benefit? And whether a little sense and honesty might not easily prevent all such inconveniences[1]?

248. Whether the subject of free-thinking in religion be not exhausted? And whether it be not high time for our Free-thinkers to turn their thoughts to the improvement of their country[2]?

249. Whether it must not be ruinous for a nation to sit down to game, be it with silver or with paper?

250. Whether, therefore, the circulating paper, in the late ruinous schemes of France and England, was the true evil, and not rather the circulating thereof without industry? And whether the bank of Amsterdam, where industry had been for so many years subsisted and circulated by transfers on paper, doth not clearly decide this point?

251. Whether there are not to be seen in America fair towns, wherein the people are well lodged, fed, and clothed, without a beggar in their streets, although there be not one grain of gold or silver current among them?

252. Whether these people do not exercise all arts and trades, build ships and navigate them to all parts of the world, purchase lands, till and reap the fruits of them, buy and sell, educate and provide for their children? Whether they do not even indulge themselves in foreign vanities?

253. Whether, whatever inconveniencies those people may have incurred from not observing either rules or bounds in their paper-money, yet it be not certain that they are in a more flourishing condition, have larger and better built towns, more plenty, more industry, more arts

[1] Queries 276–78, Part I, follow in first edition.

[2] Queries 280–81, Part I, follow in first edition.

and civility, and a more extensive commerce, than when they had gold and silver current among them?

254. Whether a view of the ruinous effects of absurd schemes and credit mismanaged, so as to produce gaming and madness instead of industry, can be any just objection against a national bank calculated purely to promote industry?

255. Whether a scheme for the welfare of this nation should not take in the whole inhabitants? And whether it be not a vain attempt, to project the flourishing of our Protestant gentry, exclusive of the bulk of the natives[1]?

256. Whether an oath, testifying allegiance to the king, and disclaiming the pope's authority in temporals, may not be justly required of the Roman Catholics? And whether, in common prudence or policy, any priest should be tolerated who refuseth to take it[2]?

257. Whether there is any such thing as a body of inhabitants, in any Roman Catholic[3] country under the sun, that profess an absolute submission to the pope's orders in matters of an indifferent nature, or that in such points do not think it their duty to obey the civil government?

258. Whether since the peace of Utrecht, mass was not celebrated, and the sacraments administered in divers dioceses of Sicily, notwithstanding the pope's interdict[4]?

259. Whether a sum which would go but a little way towards erecting hospitals for maintaining and educating the children of the native Irish might not go far in binding them out apprentices to Protestant masters, for husbandry, useful trades, and the service of families[5]?

260. Whether there be any instance of a people's being converted in a Christian sense, otherwise than by preaching to them and instructing them in their own language?

261. Whether catechists in the Irish tongue may not easily be procured and subsisted? And whether this

[1] Query 289, Part I, follows in first edition.

[2] Queries 291–300, Part I, follow in first edition.

[3] 'Roman Catholic'—'Popish,' in first edition.

[4] Queries 303–4, Part I, follow in first edition.

[5] Query 306, Part I, follows in first edition.

would not be the most practicable means for converting the natives?

262. Whether it be not of great advantage to the Church of Rome, that she hath clergy suited to all ranks of men, in gradual subordination from cardinals down to mendicants?

263. Whether her numerous poor clergy are not very useful in missions, and of much influence with the people?

264. Whether, in defect of able missionaries, persons conversant in low life, and speaking the Irish tongue, if well instructed in the first principles of religion, and in the popish controversy, though for the rest on a level with the parish clerks, or the schoolmasters of charity-schools, may not be fit to mix with and bring over our poor illiterate natives to the Established Church? Whether it is not to be wished that some parts of our liturgy and homilies were publicly read in the Irish language? And whether, in these views, it may not be right to breed up some of the better sort of children in the charity-schools, and qualify them for missionaries, catechists, and readers[1]?

[265. Whether a squire possessed of land to the value of a thousand pounds per annum, or a merchant worth twenty thousand pounds in cash, would have most power to do good or evil upon any emergency? And whether the suffering Roman Catholics to purchase forfeited lands would not be good policy, as tending to unite their interest with that of the government?

266. Whether the sea-ports of Galway, Limerick, Cork, and Waterford are not to be looked on as keys of this kingdom? And whether the merchants are not possessed of these keys; and who are the most numerous merchants in those cities?

267. Whether a merchant cannot more speedily raise a sum, more easily conceal or transfer his effects, and engage in any desperate design with more safety, than a landed man, whose estate is a pledge for his behaviour?

268. Whether a wealthy merchant bears not great sway among the populace of a trading city? And whether power be not ultimately lodged in the people[2]?]

[1] Query 312, Part I, follows in first edition.

[2] Queries 265–68 introduced in second edition.

269. Whether, as others have supposed an Atlantis or Utopia, we also may not suppose an Hyperborean island inhabited by reasonable creatures?

270. Whether an indifferent person, who looks into all hands, may not be a better judge of the game than a party who sees only his own[1]?

271. Whether there be any country in Christendom more capable of improvement than Ireland?

272. Whether we are not as far before other nations with respect to natural advantages, as we are behind them with respect to arts and industry?

273. Whether we do not live in a most fertile soil and temperate climate, and yet whether our people in general do not feel great want and misery?

274. Whether my countrymen are not readier at finding excuses than remedies[2]?

275. Whether the wealth and prosperity of our country do not hang by a hair; the probity of one banker, the caution of another, and the lives of all?

276. Whether we have not been sufficiently admonished of this by some late events[3]?

277. Whether a national bank would not at once secure our properties, put an end to usury, facilitate commerce, supply the want of coin, and produce ready payments in all parts of the kingdom?

278. Whether the use or nature of money, which all men so eagerly pursue, be yet sufficiently understood or considered by all?

[279. What doth Aristotle mean by saying—

Λῆρος εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ νόμισμα.—De Repub. Lib. ix. 9[4]?]

280. Whether mankind are not governed by imitation rather than by reason?

281. Whether there be not a measure or limit, within

[1] Queries 315 17 follow in first edition, and conclude Part I.

[2] Queries 5-8, Part II, follow in first edition.

[3] Query 11, Part II, follows in first edition.

[4] Query 279 introduced in second edition.

which gold and silver are useful, and beyond which they may be hurtful?

282. Whether that measure be not the circulating of industry?

283. Whether a discovery of the richest gold mine that ever was, in the heart of the kingdom, would be a real advantage to us?

284. Whether it would not tempt foreigners to prey upon us?

285. Whether it would not render us a lazy, proud, and dastardly people?

286. Whether every man who had money enough would not be a gentleman? And whether a nation of gentlemen would not be a wretched nation?

287. Whether all things would not bear a high price? And whether men would not increase their fortunes without being the better for it?

288. Whether the same evils would be apprehended from paper-money under an honest and thrifty regulation?

289. Whether, therefore, a national bank would not be more beneficial than even a mine of gold[1]?

290. Whether without private banks what little business and industry there is would not stagnate? But whether it be not a mighty privilege for a private person to be able to create a hundred pounds with a dash of his pen[2]?

291. Whether the wise state of Venice was not the first that conceived the advantage of a national bank[3]?

292. Whether the great exactness and integrity with which this bank is managed be not the chief support of that republic[4]?

293. Whether the bank of Amsterdam was not begun about one hundred and thirty years ago, and whether at this day its stock be not conceived to amount to three thousand tons of gold, or thirty millions sterling[5]?

294. Whether all payments of contracts for goods in

[1] Queries 24–26, Part II, follow in first edition.

[2] Query 28, Part II, follows in first edition.

[3] Queries 30–35, Part II, follow in first edition.

[4] Query 37, Part II, follows in first edition.

[5] Query 39, Part II, follows in first edition.

gross, and letters of exchange must not be made by transfers in the bank-books, provided the sum exceed three hundred florins[1]?

295. Whether it be not owing to this bank that the city of Amsterdam, without the least confusion, hazard, or trouble, maintains and every day promotes so general and quick a circulation of industry?

296. Whether it be not the greatest help and spur to commerce that property can be so readily conveyed and so well secured by a *compte en banc*, that is, by only writing one man's name for another's in the bank-book?

297. Whether, at the beginning of the last century, those who had lent money to the public during the war with Spain were not satisfied by the sole expedient of placing their names in a *compte en banc*, with liberty to transfer their claims?

298. Whether the example of those easy transfers in the *compte en banc*, thus casually erected, did not tempt other men to become creditors to the public, in order to profit by the same secure and expeditious method of keeping and transferring their wealth?

299. Whether this *compte en banc* hath not proved better than a mine of gold to Amsterdam?

300. Whether that city may not be said to owe her greatness to the unpromising accident of her having been in debt more than she was able to pay?

301. Whether it be known that any state from such small beginnings, in so short a time, ever grew to so great wealth and power as the province of Holland hath done; and whether the bank of Amsterdam hath not been the real cause of such extraordinary growth[2]?

302. Whether the success of those public banks in Venice, Amsterdam and Hamburgh would not naturally produce in other states an inclination to the same methods[3]?

303. Whether it be possible for a national bank to subsist and maintain its credit under a French Government[4]?

[1] Queries 41–45, Part II, follow in first edition.

[2] Queries 53–64, Part II, follow in first edition.

[3] Queries 66–106, Part II, follow in first edition.

[4] Queries 108–11, Part II, follow in first edition.

304. Whether our natural appetites, as well as powers, are not limited to their respective ends and uses? But whether artificial appetites may not be infinite?

305. Whether the simple getting of money, or passing it from hand to hand without industry, be an object worthy of a wise government?

306. Whether, if money be considered as an end, the appetite thereof be not infinite? But whether the ends of money itself be not bounded[1]?

307. Whether the total sum of all other powers, be it of enjoyment or action, which belong to a man, or to all mankind together, is not in truth a very narrow and limited quantity? But whether fancy is not boundless?

308. Whether this capricious tyrant, which usurps the place of reason, doth not most cruelly torment and delude those poor men, the usurers, stockjobbers, and projectors, of content to themselves from heaping up riches, that is, from gathering counters, from multiplying figures, from enlarging denominations, without knowing what they would be at, and without having a proper regard for the use, or end, or nature of things?

309. Whether the *ignis fatuus* of fancy doth not kindle immoderate desires, and lead men into endless pursuits and wild labyrinths?

310. Whether counters be not referred to other things, which, so long as they keep pace and proportion with the counters, it must be owned the counters are useful; but whether beyond that to value or covet counters be not direct folly?

311. Whether the public aim ought not to be, that men's industry should supply their present wants, and the overplus be converted into a stock of power?

312. Whether the better this power is secured, and the more easily it is transferred, industry be not so much the more encouraged?

313. Whether money, more than is expedient for those purposes, be not upon the whole hurtful rather than beneficial to a state[2]?

[1] Query 115. Part II, follows in first edition.

[2] Queries 123–39, Part II, follow in first edition.

314. Whether the promoting of industry should not be always in view, as the true and sole end, the rule and measure, of a national bank? And whether all deviations from that object should not be carefully avoided[1]?

315. Whether it may not be useful, for supplying manufactures and trade with stock, for regulating exchange, for quickening commerce, and for putting spirit into the people[2]?

316. Whether we are sufficiently sensible of the peculiar security there is in having a bank that consists of land and paper, one of which cannot be exported, and the other is in no danger of being exported?

317. Whether it be not delightful to complain? And whether there be not many who had rather utter their complaints than redress their evils?

318. Whether, if 'the crown of the wise be their riches[3],' we are not the foolishest people in Christendom?

319. Whether we have not all the while great civil as well as natural advantages?

320. Whether there be any people who have more leisure to cultivate the arts of peace and study the public weal?

321. Whether other nations who enjoy any share of freedom, and have great objects in view, be not unavoidably embarrassed and distracted by factions? But whether we do not divide upon trifles, and whether our parties are not a burlesque upon politics?

322. Whether it be not an advantage that we are not embroiled in foreign affairs, that we hold not the balance of Europe, that we are protected by other fleets and armies, that it is the true interest of a powerful people, from whom we are descended, to guard us on all sides?

323. Whether England doth not really love us and wish well to us, as bone of her bone, and flesh of her flesh? And whether it be not our part to cultivate this love and affection all manner of ways[4]?

[1] Query 141, Part II, follows in first edition.

[2] Queries 143 47, Part II, follow in first edition.

[3] [Prov. xiv. 24.] AUTHOR.

[4] Query 156, Part II, follows in first edition.

324. What seaports or foreign trade have the Swisses? and yet how warm are those people, and how well provided!

325. Whether there may not be found a people who so contrive as to be impoverished by their trade? And whether we are not that people?

326. Whether it would not be better for this island, if all our fine folk of both sexes were shipped off, to remain in foreign countries, rather than that they should spend their estates at home in foreign luxury, and spread the contagion thereof through their native land?

327. Whether our gentry understand or have a notion of magnificence, and whether for want thereof they do not affect very wretched distinctions?

328. Whether there be not an art or skill in governing human pride, so as to render it subservient to the public aim?

329. Whether the great and general aim of the public should not be to employ the people?

330. What right an eldest son hath to the worst education?

331. Whether men's counsels are not the result of their knowledge and their principles[1]?

332. Whether there be not labour of the brains as well as of the hands, and whether the former is beneath a gentleman?

333. Whether the public be more interested to protect the property acquired by mere birth than that which is the immediate fruit of learning and virtue?

334. Whether it would not be a poor and ill-judged project to attempt to promote the good of the community, by invading the rights of one part thereof, or of one particular order of men?

[335. Whether there be a more wretched, and at the same time a more unpitied case, than for men to make precedents for their own undoing?

336. Whether to determine about the rights and properties of men by other rules than the law be not dangerous?

337. Whether those men who move the corner-stones

[1] Query 165, Part II, follows in first edition.

of a constitution may not pull an old house on their own heads?

338. Whether there be not two general methods whereby men become sharers in the national stock of wealth or power, industry and inheritance? And whether it would be wise in a civil society to lessen that share which is allotted to merit and industry?

339. Whether all ways of spending a fortune be of equal benefit to the public, and what sort of men are aptest to run into an improper expense?

340. If the revenues allotted for the encouragement of religion and learning were made hereditary in the hands of a dozen lay lords and as many overgrown commoners, whether the public would be much the better for it?

341. Whether the Church's patrimony belongs to one tribe alone; and whether every man's son, brother, or himself, may not, if he please, be qualified to share therein?

342. What is there in the clergy to create a jealousy in the public? Or what would the public lose by it, if every squire in the land wore a black coat, said his prayers, and was obliged to reside?

343. Whether there be anything perfect under the sun? And whether it be not with the world as with a particular state, and with a state or body politic as with the human body, which lives and moves under various indispositions, perfect health being seldom or never to be found?

344. Whether, nevertheless, men should not in all things aim at perfection? And, therefore, whether any wise and good man would be against applying remedies? But whether it is not natural to wish for a benevolent physician[1]?]

345. Whether the public happiness be not proposed by the legislature, and whether such happiness doth not contain that of the individuals?

346. Whether, therefore, a legislator should be content with a vulgar share of knowledge? Whether he should not be a person of reflexion and thought, who hath made it his study to understand the true nature and interest of mankind, how to guide men's humours and passions, how to incite their active powers, how to make their several

[1] Queries 335–44 introduced in second edition.

talents co-operate to the mutual benefit of each other, and the general good of the whole?

347. Whether it doth not follow that above all things a gentleman's care should be to keep his own faculties sound and entire?

348. Whether the natural phlegm of this island needs any additional stupifier?

349. Whether all spirituous liquors are not in truth opiates?

350. Whether our men of business are not generally very grave by fifty[1]?

351. Whether all men have not faculties of mind or body which may be employed for the public benefit?

352. Whether the main point be not to multiply and employ our people?

353. Whether hearty food and warm clothing would not enable and encourage the lower sort to labour?

354. Whether, in such a soil as ours, if there was industry, there could be want?

355. Whether the way to make men industrious be not to let them taste the fruits of their industry? And whether the labouring ox should be muzzled?

356. Whether our landlords are to be told that industry and numbers would raise the value of their lands, or that one acre about the Tholsel is worth ten thousand acres in Connaught?

357. Whether our old native Irish are not the most indolent and supine people in Christendom?

358. Whether they are yet civilised, and whether their habitations and furniture are not more sordid than those of the savage Americans[2]?

359. Whether it be not a sad circumstance to live among lazy beggars? And whether, on the other hand, it would not be delightful to live in a country swarming, like China, with busy people?

360. Whether we should not cast about, by all manner of means, to excite industry, and to remove whatever

[1] Queries 175–76, Part II, follow in first edition.

[2] Query 185, Part II, follows in first edition.

hinders it? And whether every one should not lend a helping hand?

361. Whether vanity itself should not be engaged in this good work? And whether it is not to be wished that the finding of employment for themselves and others were a fashionable distinction among the ladies?

362. Whether idleness be the mother or daughter of spleen?

363. Whether it may not be worth while to publish the conversation of Ischomachus and his wife in Xenophon, for the use of our ladies?

364. Whether it is true that there have been, upon a time, one hundred millions of people employed in China, without the woollen trade, or any foreign commerce?

365. Whether the natural inducements to sloth are not greater in the Mogul's country than in Ireland, and yet whether, in that suffocating and dispiriting climate, the Banyans are not all, men, women, and children, constantly employed?

366. Whether it be not true that the Great Mogul's subjects might undersell us even in our own markets, and clothe our people with their stuffs and calicoes, if they were imported duty free?

367. Whether there can be a greater reproach on the leading men and the patriots of a country, than that the people should want employment? [[1]And whether methods may not be found to employ even the lame and the blind, the dumb, the deaf, and the maimed, in some or other branch of our manufactures?]

368. Whether much may not be expected from a biennial consultation of so many wise men about the public good?

369. Whether a tax upon dirt would not be one way of encouraging industry[2]?

370. Whether it would be a great hardship if every parish were obliged to find work for their poor?

371. Whether children especially should not be inured to labour betimes?

372. Whether there should be not erected, in each

[1] Added in the edition contained in the *Miscellany* (1752).

[2] Queries 197–99, Part II, follow in first edition.

province, an hospital for orphans and foundlings, at the expense of old bachelors?

373. Whether it be true that in the Dutch workhouses things are so managed that a child four years old may earn its own livelihood?

374. What a folly is it to build fine houses, or establish lucrative posts and large incomes, under the notion of providing for the poor?

375. Whether the poor, grown up and in health, need any other provision but their own industry, under public inspection?

376. Whether the poor-tax in England hath lessened or increased the number of the poor[1]?

377. Whether workhouses should not be made at the least expense, with clay floors, and walls of rough stone, without plastering, ceiling, or glazing[2]?

378. Whether it be an impossible attempt to set our people at work, or whether industry be a habit, which, like other habits, may by time and skill be introduced among any people?

379. Whether all manner of means should not be employed to possess the nation in general with an aversion and contempt for idleness and all idle folk?

380. Whether it would be a hardship on people destitute of all things, if the public furnished them with necessaries which they should be obliged to earn by their labour?

381. Whether other nations have not found great benefit from the use of slaves in repairing high roads, making rivers navigable, draining bogs, erecting public buildings, bridges, and manufactories?

382. Whether temporary servitude would not be the best cure for idleness and beggary?

383. Whether the public hath not a right to employ those who cannot, or who will not find employment for themselves?

384. Whether all sturdy beggars should not be seized and made slaves to the public for a certain term of years?

385. Whether he who is chained in a jail or dungeon

[1] Queries 207, 208, Part II, follow in first edition.

[2] Query 210, Part II, follows in first edition.

hath not, for the time, lost his liberty? And if so, whether temporary slavery be not already admitted among us?

386. Whether a state of servitude, wherein he should be well worked, fed, and clothed, would not be a preferment to such a fellow?

387. Whether criminals in the freest country may not forfeit their liberty, and repair the damage they have done the public by hard labour?

388. What the word servant signifies in the New Testament?

389. Whether the view of criminals chained in pairs and kept at hard labour would not be very edifying to the multitude?

390. Whether the want of such an institution be not plainly seen in England, where the disbelief of a future state hardeneth rogues against the fear of death, and where, through the great growth of robbers and housebreakers, it becomes every day more necessary?

391. Whether it be not easier to prevent than to remedy, and whether we should not profit by the example of others?

392. Whether felons are not often spared, and therefore encouraged, by the compassion of those who should prosecute them?

393. Whether many that would not take away the life of a thief may not nevertheless be willing to bring him to a more adequate punishment[1]?

394. Whether the most indolent would be fond of idleness, if they regarded it as the sure road to hard labour?

395. Whether the industry of the lower part of our people doth not much depend on the expense of the upper?

396. What would be the consequence if our gentry affected to distinguish themselves by fine houses rather than fine clothes?

397. Whether any people in Europe are so meanly provided with houses and furniture, in proportion to their incomes, as the men of estates in Ireland?

398. Whether building would not peculiarly encourage all other arts in this kingdom?

399. Whether smiths, masons, bricklayers, plasterers,

[1] Query 227, Part II, follows in first edition.

carpenters, joiners, tilers, plumbers, and glaziers would not all find employment if the humour of building prevailed?

400. Whether the ornaments and furniture of a good house do not employ a number of all sorts of artificers, in iron, wood, marble, brass, pewter, copper, wool, flax, and divers other materials?

401. Whether in buildings and gardens a great number of day-labourers do not find employment?

402. Whether by these means much of that sustenance and wealth of this nation which now goes to foreigners would not be kept at home, and nourish and circulate among our own people?

403. Whether, as industry produced good living, the number of hands and mouths would not be increased; and in proportion thereunto, whether there would not be every day more occasion for agriculture? And whether this article alone would not employ a world of people?

404. Whether such management would not equally provide for the magnificence of the rich, and the necessities of the poor?

405. Whether an expense in building and improvements doth not remain at home, pass to the heir, and adorn the public? And whether any of these things can be said of claret?

406. Whether fools do not make fashions, and wise men follow them?

407. Whether, for one who hurts his fortune by improvements, twenty do not ruin themselves by foreign luxury?

408. Whether in proportion as Ireland was improved and beautified by fine seats, the number of absentees would not decrease?

409. Whether he who employs men in buildings and manufactures doth not put life in the country, and whether the neighbourhood round him be not observed to thrive?

410. Whether money circulated on the landlord's own lands, and among his own tenants, doth not return into his own pocket?

411. Whether every squire that made his domain swarm with busy hands, like a beehive or ant-hill, would not serve his own interest, as well as that of his country?

412. Whether a gentleman who hath seen a little of the

world, and observed how men live elsewhere, can contentedly sit down in a cold, damp, sordid habitation, in the midst of a bleak country, inhabited by thieves and beggars?

413. Whether, on the other hand, a handsome seat amidst well-improved lands, fair villages, and a thriving neighbourhood, may not invite a man to dwell on his own estate, and quit the life of an insignificant saunterer about town, for that of a useful country gentleman?

414. Whether it would not be of use and ornament if the towns throughout this kingdom were provided with decent churches, townhouses, workhouses, market-places, and paved streets, with some order taken for cleanliness?

415. Whether, if each of these towns were addicted to some peculiar manufacture, we should not find that the employing many hands together on the same work was the way to perfect our workmen? And whether all these things might not soon be provided by a domestic industry, if money were not wanting?

416. Whether money could ever be wanting to the demands of industry, if we had a national bank[1]?

417. Whether the fable of Hercules and the carter ever suited any nation like this nation of Ireland?

418. Whether it be not a new spectacle under the sun, to behold, in such a climate and such a soil, and under such a gentle government, so many roads untrodden, fields untilled, houses desolate, and hands unemployed?

419. Whether there is any country in Christendom, either kingdom or republic, depending or independent, free or enslaved, which may not afford us a useful lesson?

420. Whether the frugal Swisses have any other commodities but their butter and cheese and a few cattle for exportation; whether, nevertheless, the single canton of Berne hath not in her public treasury two millions sterling?

421. Whether that small town of Berne, with its scanty barren territory, in a mountainous corner, without seaports, without manufactures, without mines, be not rich by mere dint of frugality?

422. Whether the Swisses in general have not sumptuary laws, prohibiting the use of gold, jewels, silver, silk, and

[1] Queries 251–54, Part II, follow in first edition, and conclude Part II.

lace in their apparel, and indulging the women only to wear silk on festivals, weddings, and public solemnities?

423. Whether there be not two ways of growing rich, sparing and getting? But whether the lazy spendthrift must not be doubly poor?

424. Whether money circulating be not the life of industry; and whether the want thereof doth not render a state gouty and inactive?

425. But whether, if we had a national bank, and our present cash (small as it is) were put into the most convenient shape, men should hear any public complaints for want of money?

426. Whether all circulation be not alike a circulation of credit, whatsoever medium (metal or paper) is employed, and whether gold be any more than credit for so much power?

427. Whether the wealth of the richest nations in Christendom doth not consist in paper vastly more than in gold and silver?

428. Whether Lord Clarendon doth not aver of his own knowledge, that the Prince of Orange, with the best credit, and the assistance of the richest men in Amsterdam, was above ten days endeavouring to raise 20,000*l.* in specie, without being able to raise half the sum in all that time? (See Clarendon's *History*, Bk. xii.)[1]

429. Supposing there had been hitherto no such thing as a bank, and the question were now first proposed, whether it would be safer to circulate unlimited bills in a private credit, or bills to a limited value on the public credit of the community, what would men think[2]?

430. Whether the maxim, 'What is everybody's business is nobody's,' prevails in any country under the sun more than in Ireland[3]?

431. Whether the united stock of a nation be not the best security? And whether anything but the ruin of the state can produce a national bankruptcy?

432. Whether the total sum of the public treasure, power, and wisdom, all co-operating, be not most likely

[1] Queries 13–22, Part III, follow in first edition.

[2] Queries 24–28, Part III, follow in first edition.

[3] Queries 30–50, Part III, follow in first edition.

to establish a bank of credit, sufficient to answer the ends, relieve the wants, and satisfy the scruples of all people [1]?

433. Whether London is not to be considered as the metropolis of Ireland? And whether our wealth (such as it is) doth not circulate through London and throughout all England, as freely as that of any part of his Majesty's dominions?

434. Whether therefore it be not evidently the interest of the people of England to encourage rather than to oppose a national bank in this kingdom, as well as every other means for advancing our wealth which shall not impair their own?

435. Whether it is not our interest to be useful to them rather than rival them; and whether in that case we may not be sure of their good offices?

436. Whether we can propose to thrive so long as we entertain a wrongheaded distrust of England?

437. Whether, as a national bank would increase our industry, and that our wealth, England may not be a proportionable gainer; and whether we should not consider the gains of our mother-country as some accession to our own [2]?

438. Whether there be any difficulty in comprehending that the whole wealth of the nation is in truth the stock of a national bank? And whether any more than the right comprehension of this be necessary to make all men easy with regard to its credit [3]?

439. Whether the prejudices about gold and silver are not strong, but whether they are not still prejudices?

440. Whether paper doth not by its stamp and signature acquire a local value, and become as precious and as scarce as gold? And whether it be not much fitter to circulate large sums, and therefore preferable to gold [4]?

441. Whether it doth not much import to have a right

[1] Queries 53–72, Part III, follow in first edition.

[2] Queries 78–83, Part III, follow in first edition.

[3] Query 85, Part III, follows in first edition.

[4] Query 88, Part III, follows in first edition.

conception of money? And whether its true and just idea be not that of a ticket, entitling to power, and fitted to record and transfer such power [1]?

442. Though the bank of Amsterdam doth very rarely, if at all, pay out money, yet whether every man possessed of specie be not ready to convert it into paper, and act as cashier to the bank? And whether, from the same motive, every monied man throughout this kingdom would not be cashier to our national bank [2]?

443. Whether we may not obtain that as friends which it is in vain to hope for as rivals?

444. Whether in every instance by which we prejudice England, we do not in a greater degree prejudice ourselves?

445. Whether in the rude original of society the first step was not the exchanging of commodities; the next a substituting of metals by weight as the common medium of circulation; after this the making use of coin; lastly, a further refinement by the use of paper with proper marks and signatures? And whether this, as it is the last, so it be not the greatest improvement?

446. Whether we are not in fact the only people who may be said to starve in the midst of plenty [3]?

447. Whether there can be a worse sign than that people should quit their country for a livelihood? Though men often leave their country for health, or pleasure, or riches, yet to leave it merely for a livelihood, whether this be not exceeding bad, and sheweth some peculiar mismanagement [4]?

448. Whether, in order to redress our evils, artificial helps are not most wanted in a land where industry is most against the natural grain of the people [5]?

449. Whether, although the prepossessions about gold and silver have taken deep root, yet the example of our Colonies in America doth not make it as plain as daylight

[1] Queries 90, 91, Part III, follow in first edition.

[2] Queries 93–97, Part III, follow in first edition.

[3] Query 102, Part III, follows in first edition.

[4] Query 104, Part III, follows in first edition.

[5] Queries 106, 107, Part III, follow in first edition.

that they are not so necessary to the wealth of a nation as the vulgar of all ranks imagine?

450. Whether it be not evident that we may maintain a much greater inward and outward commerce, and be five times richer than we are, nay, and our bills abroad be of far greater credit, though we had not one ounce of gold or silver in the whole island?

451. Whether wrongheaded maxims, customs, and fashions are not sufficient to destroy any people which hath so few resources as the inhabitants of Ireland?

452. Whether it would not be a horrible thing to see our matrons make dress and play their chief concern?

453. Whether our ladies might not as well endow monasteries as wear Flanders lace? And whether it be not true that Popish nuns are maintained by Protestant contributions?

454. Whether England, which hath a free trade, whatever she remits for foreign luxury with one hand, doth not with the other receive much more from abroad? Whether, nevertheless, this nation would not be a gainer, if our women would content themselves with the same moderation in point of expense as the English ladies?

455. But whether it be not a notorious truth that our Irish ladies are on a foot, as to dress, with those of five times their fortune in England?

456. Whether it be not even certain that the matrons of this forlorn country send out a greater proportion of its wealth, for fine apparel, than any other females on the whole surface of this terraqueous globe?

457. Whether the expense, great as it is, be the greatest evil; but whether this folly may not produce many other follies, an entire derangement of domestic life, absurd manners, neglect of duties, bad mothers, a general corruption in both sexes[1]?

458. Whether the first beginning of expedients do not always meet with prejudices? And whether even the prejudices of a people ought not to be respected?

459. Whether a national bank be not the true philosopher's stone in a state[2]?

[1] Queries 117-30, Part III, follow in first edition.

[2] Queries 133-39, Part III, follow in first edition.

460. Whether all regulations of coin should not be made with a view to encourage industry, and a circulation of commerce, throughout the kingdom [1]?

461. Whether to oil the wheels of commerce be not a common benefit? And whether this be not done by avoiding fractions and multiplying small silver [2]?

462. Whether, all things considered, a general raising the value of gold and silver be not so far from bringing greater quantities thereof into the kingdom that it would produce a direct contrary effect, inasmuch as less, in that case, would serve, and therefore less be wanted? And whether men do not import a commodity in proportion to the demand or want of it?

463. Whether the lowering of our gold would not create a fever in the state? And whether a fever be not sometimes a cure, but whether it be not the last cure a man would choose [3]?

464. Whether raising the value of a particular species will not tend to multiply such species, and to lessen others in proportion thereunto? And whether a much less quantity of cash in silver would not, in reality, enrich the nation more than a much greater in gold [4]?

465. Whether, *cæteris paribus*, it be not true that the prices of things increase as the quantity of money increaseth, and are diminished as that is diminished? And whether, by the quantity of money, is not to be understood the amount of the denominations, all contracts being nominal for pounds, shillings, and pence, and not for weights of gold or silver [5]?

466. Whether our exports do not consist of such necessaries as other countries cannot well be without?

467. Whether upon the circulation of a national bank

[1] Query 141, Part III, follows in first edition.
[2] Queries 143–47, Part III, follow in first edition.
[3] Queries 150–52, Part III. follow in first edition.
[4] Queries 154–56, Part III, follow in first edition.
[5] Queries 158, 159, Part III, follow in first edition.

more land would not be tilled, more hands employed, and consequently more commodities exported[1]?

468. Whether silver and small money be not that which circulates the quickest, and passeth through all hands, on the road, in the market, at the shop?

469. Whether, all things considered, it would not be better for a kingdom that its cash consisted of half a million in small silver, than of five times that sum in gold?

470. Whether there be not every day five hundred lesser payments made for one that requires gold?

471. Whether Spain, where gold bears the highest value, be not the laziest, and China, where it bears the lowest, be not the most industrious country in the known world[2]?

472. Whether it be not evidently the interest of every state, that its money should rather circulate than stagnate?

473. Whether the principal use of cash be not its ready passing from hand to hand, to answer common occasions of the common people, and whether common occasions of all sorts of people are not small ones?

474. Whether business at fairs and markets is not often at a stand and often hindered, even though the seller hath his commodities at hand, and the purchaser his gold, for want of change[3]?

475. As wealth is really power, and coin a ticket conveying power, whether those tickets which are the fittest for that use ought not to be preferred?

476. Whether those tickets which singly transfer small shares of power, and, being multiplied, large shares, are not fitter for common use than those which singly transfer large shares?

477. Whether the public is not more benefited by a shilling that circulates than a pound that lies dead?

478. Whether sixpence twice paid be not as good as a shilling once paid?

479. Whether the same shilling circulating in a village

[1] Queries 162–71, Part III, follow in first edition.

[2] Query 176, Part III, follows in first edition.

[3] Query 180, Part III, follows in first edition.

may not supply one man with bread, another with stockings, a third with a knife, a fourth with paper, a fifth with nails, and so answer many wants which must otherwise have remained unsatisfied?

480. Whether facilitating and quickening the circulation of power to supply wants be not the promoting of wealth and industry among the lower people? And whether upon this the wealth of the great doth not depend?

481. Whether, without the proper means of circulation, it be not vain to hope for thriving manufactures and a busy people?

482. Whether four pounds in small cash may not circulate and enliven an Irish market, which many four-pound pieces would permit to stagnate[1]?

483. Whether a man that could move nothing less than a hundred-pound weight would not be much at a loss to supply his wants; and whether it would not be better for him to be less strong and more active?

484. Whether the natural body can be in a state of health and vigour without a due circulation of the extremities, even in the fingers and toes? And whether the political body, any more than the natural, can thrive without a proportionable circulation through the minutest and most inconsiderable parts thereof?

485. If we had a mint for coining only shillings, sixpences, and copper-money, whether the nation would not soon feel the good effects thereof?

486. Whether the greater waste by wearing of small coins would not be abundantly overbalanced by their usefulness?

487. Whether it be not the industry of common people that feeds the state, and whether it be possible to keep this industry alive without small money?

488. Whether the want of this be not a great bar to our employing the people in these manufactures which are open to us, and do not interfere with Great Britain?

489. Whether therefore such want doth not drive men into the lazy way of employing land under sheep-walk?

490. Whether the running of wool from Ireland can

[1] [In the year 1735, this country abounded with the large gold coins of Portugal, which, being overrated, flowed in from all parts. But that evil is since remedied.]—AUTHOR.

so effectually be prevented as by encouraging other business and manufactures among our people?

491. Whatever commodities Great Britain importeth which we might supply, whether it be not her real interest to import them from us rather than from any other people?

492. Whether the apprehension of many among us (who for that very reason stick to their wool), that England may hereafter prohibit, limit, or discourage our linen trade, when it hath been once, with great pains and expense, thoroughly introduced and settled in this land, be not altogether groundless and unjust?

493. Whether it is possible for this country, which hath neither mines of gold nor a free trade, to support for any time the sending out of specie?

494. Whether in fact our payments are not made by bills? And whether our foreign credit doth not depend on our domestic industry, and our bills on that credit?

495. Whether, in order to mend it, we ought not first to know the peculiar wretchedness of our state? And whether there be any knowing of this but by comparison?

496. Whether there are not single market towns in England that turn more money in buying and selling than whole countries (perhaps provinces) with us?

497. Whether the small town of Birmingham alone doth not, upon an average, circulate every week, one way or other, to the value of fifty thousand pounds? But whether the same crown may not be often paid[1]?

498. Whether any kingdom in Europe be so good a customer at Bourdeaux as Ireland?

499. Whether the police and economy of France be not governed by wise councils? And whether any one from this country, who sees their towns, and manufactures, and commerce, will not wonder what our senators have been doing?

500. What variety and number of excellent manufactures are to be met with throughout the whole kingdom of France?

501. Whether there are not everywhere some or other mills for many uses, forges and furnaces for iron-work, looms for tapestry, glass-houses, and so forth?

[1] Queries 204, 205, Part III. follow in first edition.

502. What quantities of paper, stockings, hats; what manufactures of wool, silk, linen, hemp, leather, wax, earthenware, brass, lead, tin, &c.?

503. Whether the manufactures and commerce of the single town of Lyons do not amount to a greater value than all the manufactures and all the trade of this kingdom taken together[1]?

504. Whether, in the anniversary fair at the small town of Beaucair upon the Rhone, there be not as much money laid out as the current cash of this kingdom amounts to[2]?

505. Whether the very shreds shorn from woollen cloth, which are thrown away in Ireland, do not make a beautiful tapestry in France[3]?

506. Whether there be not French towns subsisted merely by making pins?

507. Whether the coarse fingers of those very women, those same peasants who one part of the year till the ground and dress the vineyards, are not another employed in making the finest French point?

508. Whether there is not a great number of idle fingers among the wives and daughters of our peasants[4]?

509. Whether the French do not raise a trade from saffron, dying drugs, and the like products, which may do with us as well as with them?

510. Whether we may not have materials of our own growth to supply all manufactures, as well as France, except silk, and whether the bulk of what silk even France manufactures be not imported?

511. Whether it be possible for this country to grow rich, so long as what is made by domestic industry is spent in foreign luxury[5]?

512. Whether our natural Irish are not partly Spaniards and partly Tartars; and whether they do not bear signatures of their descent from both these nations, which is also confirmed by all their histories?

[1] Query 212, Part III, follows in first edition.

[2] Queries 214, 215, Part III, follow in first edition.

[3] Queries 217, 218, Part III, follow in first edition.

[4] Query 222, Part III, follows in first edition.

[5] Query 226, Part III, follows in first edition.

513. Whether the Tartar progeny is not numerous in this land? And whether there is an idler occupation under the sun than to attend flocks and herds of cattle?

514. Whether the wisdom of the state should not wrestle with this hereditary disposition of our Tartars, and with a high hand introduce agriculture[1]?

515. Whether once upon a time France did not, by her linen alone, draw yearly from Spain about eight millions of livres?

516. Whether the French have not suffered in their linen trade with Spain, by not making their cloth of due breadth; and whether any other people have suffered, and are still likely to suffer, through the same prevarication[2]?

517. Whether the Spaniards are not rich and lazy, and whether they have not a particular inclination and favour for the inhabitants of this island? But whether a punctual people do not love punctual dealers?

518. Whether about fourteen years ago we had not come into a considerable share of the linen trade with Spain, and what put a stop to this[3]?

519. Whether, if the linen manufacture were carried on in the other provinces as well as in the north, the merchants of Cork, Limerick, and Galway would not soon find the way to Spain?

520. Whether the woollen manufacture of England is not divided into several parts or branches, appropriated to particular places, where they are only or principally manufactured; fine cloths in Somersetshire, coarse in Yorkshire, long ells at Exeter, saies[4] at Sudbury, crapes at Norwich, linseys at Kendal, blankets at Witney, and so forth?

521. Whether the united skill, industry, and emulation of many together on the same work be not the way to advance it? And whether it had been otherwise possible for England to have carried on her woollen manufacture to so great perfection?

[1] Query 230, Part III. follows in first edition.

[2] [Things, we hear, are in a way of being mended with us in this respect.]—Author.

[3] Query 235, Part III. follows in first edition.

[4] 'saies,' i. e. serges.

522. Whether it would not on many accounts be right if we observed the same course with respect to our linen manufacture; and that diapers were made in one town or district, damasks in another, sheeting in a third, fine wearing linen in a fourth, coarse in a fifth, in another cambrics, in another thread and stockings, in others stamped linen, or striped linen, or tickings, or dyed linens, of which last kinds there is so great a consumption among the seafaring men of all nations?

523. Whether it may not be worth while to inform ourselves of the different sorts of linen which are in request among different people?

524. Whether we do not yearly consume of French wines about a thousand tuns more than either Sweden or Denmark, and yet whether those nations pay ready money as we do[1]?

525. Whether it be not a custom for some thousands of Frenchmen to go about the beginning of March into Spain, and having tilled the lands and gathered the harvest of Spain, to return home with money in their pockets about the end of November?

526. Whether of late years our Irish labourers do not carry on the same business in England, to the great discontent of many there? But whether we have not much more reason than the people of England to be displeased at this commerce?

527. Whether, notwithstanding the cash, supposed to be brought into it, any nation is, in truth, a gainer by such traffic?

528. Whether the industry of our people employed in foreign lands, while our own are left uncultivated, be not a great loss to the country?

529. Whether it would not be much better for us, if, instead of sending our men abroad, we could draw men from the neighbouring countries to cultivate our own?

530. Whether, nevertheless, we are not apt to think the money imported by our labourers to be so much clear gains to this country; but whether a little reflexion and a little political arithmetic may not shew us our mistake?

531. Whether our prejudices about gold and silver are

[1] Query 242, Part III, follows in first edition.

not very apt to infect or misguide our judgments and reasonings about the public weal?

532. Whether it be not a good rule whereby to judge of the trade of any city, and its usefulness, to observe whether there is a circulation through the extremities, and whether the people round about are busy and warm?

533. Whether we had not, some years since, a manufacture of hats at Athlone, and of earthenware at Arklow, and what became of those manufactures?

534. Why we do not make tiles of our own, for flooring and roofing, rather than bring them from Holland?

535. What manufactures are there in France and Venice of gilt-leather, how cheap and how splendid a furniture?

536. Whether we may not, for the same use, manufacture divers things at home of more beauty and variety than wainscot, which is imported at such expense from Norway?

537. Whether the use and the fashion will not soon make a manufacture?

538. Whether, if our gentry used to drink mead and cider, we should not soon have those liquors in the utmost perfection and plenty?

539. Whether it be not wonderful that with such pastures, and so many black cattle, we do not find ourselves in cheese?

540. Whether great profits may not be made by fisheries; but whether those of our Irish who live by that business do not contrive to be drunk and unemployed one-half of the year?

541. Whether it be not folly to think an inward commerce cannot enrich a state, because it doth not increase its quantity of gold and silver? And whether it is possible a country should not thrive, while wants are supplied, and business goes on?

542. Whether plenty of all the necessaries and comforts of life be not real wealth?

543. Whether Lyons, by the advantage of her midland situation and the rivers Rhone and Saone, be not a great magazine or mart for inward commerce? And whether she doth not maintain a constant trade with most parts of France; with Provence for oils and dried fruits, for wines and cloth with Languedoc, for stuffs with Champaign, for

linen with Picardy, Normandy, and Bretagne, for corn with Burgundy?

544. Whether she doth not receive and utter all those commodities, and raise a profit from the distribution thereof, as well as of her own manufactures, throughout the kingdom of France?

545. Whether the charge of making good roads and navigable rivers across the country would not be really repaid by an inward commerce?

546. Whether, as our trade and manufactures increased, magazines should not be established in proper places, fitted by their situation, near great roads and navigable rivers, lakes, or canals, for the ready reception and distribution of all sorts of commodities from and to the several parts of the kingdom; and whether the town of Athlone, for instance, may not be fitly situated for such a magazine, or centre of domestic commerce?

547. Whether an inward trade would not cause industry to flourish, and multiply the circulation of our coin, and whether this may not do as well as multiplying the coin itself?

548. Whether the benefits of a domestic commerce are sufficiently understood and attended to; and whether the cause thereof be not the prejudiced and narrow way of thinking about gold and silver?

549. Whether there be any other more easy and unenvied method of increasing the wealth of a people?

550. Whether we of this island are not from our peculiar circumstances determined to this very commerce above any other, from the number of necessaries and good things that we possess within ourselves, from the extent and variety of our soil, from the navigable rivers and good roads which we have or may have, at a less expense than any people in Europe, from our great plenty of materials for manufactures, and particularly from the restraints we lie under with regard to our foreign trade[1]?

551. Whether annual inventories should not be published of the fairs throughout the kingdom, in order to judge of the growth of its commerce?

552. Whether there be not every year more cash

[1] Queries 269, 270, Part III, follow in first edition.

circulated at the card-tables of Dublin than at all the fairs of Ireland?

553. Whether the wealth of a country will not bear proportion to the skill and industry of its inhabitants?

554. Whether foreign imports that tend to promote industry should not be encouraged, and such as have a tendency to promote luxury should not be discouraged?

555. Whether the annual balance of trade between Italy and Lyons be not about four millions in favour of the former, and yet, whether Lyons be not a gainer by this trade?

556. Whether the general rule, of determining the profit of a commerce by its balance, doth not, like other general rules, admit of exceptions?

557. Whether it would not be a monstrous folly to import nothing but gold and silver, supposing we might do it, from every foreign part to which we trade? And yet, whether some men may not think this foolish circumstance a very happy one?

558. But whether we do not all see the ridicule of the Mogul's subjects, who take from us nothing but our silver, and bury it under ground, in order to make sure thereof against the resurrection?

559. Whether he must not be a wrongheaded patriot or politician, whose ultimate view was drawing money into a country, and keeping it there?

560. Whether it be not evident that not gold but industry causeth a country to flourish?

561. Whether it would not be a silly project in any nation to hope to grow rich by prohibiting the exportation of gold and silver?

562. Whether there can be a greater mistake in politics than to measure the wealth of the nation by its gold and silver?

563. Whether gold and silver be not a drug, where they do not promote industry? Whether they be not even the bane and undoing of an idle people?

564. Whether gold will not cause either industry or vice to flourish? And whether a country, where it flowed in without labour, must not be wretched and dissolute like an island inhabited by Buccaneers?

565. Whether arts and virtue are not likely to thrive,

where money is made a means to industry? But whether money without this would be a blessing to any people[1]?

566. Whether keeping cash at home, or sending it abroad, just as it most serves to promote industry, be not the real interest of every nation?

567. Whether commodities of all kinds do not naturally flow where there is the greatest demand? Whether the greatest demand for a thing be not where it is of most use? Whether money, like other things, hath not its proper use? Whether this use be not to circulate? Whether therefore there must not of course be money where there is a circulation of industry[2]; [and where there is no industry, whether there will be a demand for money[3]?]

568. Whether it is not a great point to know what we would be at? And whether whole states, as well as private persons, do not often fluctuate for want of this knowledge?

569. Whether gold may not be compared to Sejanus's horse, if we consider its passage through the world, and the fate of those nations which have been successively possessed thereof[4]?

570. Whether means are not so far useful as they answer the end? And whether, in different circumstances, the same ends are not obtained by different means?

571. If we are a poor nation, abounding with very poor people, will it not follow that a far greater proportion of our stock should be in the smallest and lowest species than would suit with England?

572. Whether, therefore, it would not be highly expedient, if our money were coined of peculiar values, best suited to the circumstances and uses of our own country; and whether any other people could take umbrage at our consulting our own convenience, in an affair entirely domestic, and that lies within ourselves?

573. Whether every man doth not know, and hath not

[1] Query 286, Part III, follows in first edition.

[2] Query 567 ended here in second edition.

[3] Query 289, Part III, follows in first edition.

[4] Query 292, Part III, follows in first edition.

long known, that the want of a mint causeth many other wants in this kingdom?

574. What harm did England sustain about three centuries ago, when silver was coined in this kingdom?

575. What harm was it to Spain that her provinces of Naples and Sicily had all along mints of their own[1]?

576. Whether it may not be presumed that our not having a privilege, which every other kingdom in the world enjoys, be not owing to our own want of diligence and unanimity in soliciting for it[2]?

577. Whether it be not the interest of England that we should cultivate a domestic commerce among ourselves? And whether it could give them any possible jealousy, if our small sum of cash was contrived to go a little farther, if there was a little more life in our markets, a little more buying and selling in our shops, a little better provision for the backs and bellies of so many forlorn wretches throughout the towns and villages of this island?

578. Whether Great Britain ought not to promote the prosperity of her Colonies, by all methods consistent with her own? And whether the Colonies themselves ought to wish or aim at it by others?

579. Whether the remotest parts from the metropolis, and the lowest of the people, are not to be regarded as the extremities and capillaries of the political body?

580. Whether, although the capillary vessels are small, yet obstructions in them do not produce great chronical diseases?

581. Whether faculties are not enlarged and improved by exercise?

582. Whether the sum of the faculties put into act, or, in other words, the united action of a whole people, doth not constitute the *momentum* of a state?

583. Whether such *momentum* be not the real stock or wealth of a state; and whether its credit be not proportional thereunto?

584. Whether in every wise state the faculties of the mind are not most considered[3]?

585. Whether the *momentum* of a state doth not imply

[1] Query 299, Part III, follows in first edition.

[2] Queries 301, 302. Part III. follow in first edition.

[3] Query 311, Part III, follows in first edition.

the whole exertion of its faculties, intellectual and corporeal; and whether the latter without the former could act in concert?

586. Whether the divided force of men, acting singly, would not be a rope of sand?

587. Whether the particular motions of the members of a state, in opposite directions, will not destroy each other, and lessen the *momentum* of the whole; but whether they must not conspire to produce a great effect?

588. Whether the ready means to put spirit into this state, to fortify and increase its *momentum*, would not be a national bank, and plenty of small cash [1]?

589. Whether that which employs and exerts the force of a community deserves not to be well considered and well understood?

590. Whether the immediate mover, the blood and spirits, be not money, paper, or metal; and whether the soul or will of the community, which is the prime mover that governs and directs the whole, be not the legislature?

591. Supposing the inhabitants of a country quite sunk in sloth, or even fast asleep, whether, upon the gradual awakening and exertion, first of the sensitive and locomotive faculties, next of reason and reflexion, then of justice and piety, the *momentum* of such country or state would not, in proportion thereunto, become still more and more considerable?

592. Whether that which in the growth is last attained, and is the finishing perfection of a people, be not the first thing lost in their declension?

593. Whether force be not of great consequence, as it is exerted; and whether great force without wisdom may not be a nuisance?

594. Whether the force of a child, applied with art, may not produce greater effects than that of a giant? And whether a small stock in the hands of a wise state may not go farther, and produce more considerable effects, than immense sums in the hands of a foolish one [2]?

595. Whose fault is it if poor Ireland still continues poor?

[1] Query 316, Part III, follows in first edition.

[2] Query 323, Part III, follows in first edition.

A DISCOURSE

ADDRESSED TO

MAGISTRATES AND MEN IN AUTHORITY

OCCASIONED

BY THE ENORMOUS LICENCE AND IRRELIGION OF THE TIMES

'Gallio cared for none of these things.'—Acts xviii. 17

First published in 1736

EDITOR'S PREFACE

TO THE

'DISCOURSE'

THIS *Discourse* was first published at Dublin in 1736. It was reprinted in 1738, 'by George Faulkner,' also at Dublin; and afterwards in the *Miscellany* of 1752. It seems to have been called forth particularly by those whom it describes as 'that execrable Fraternity of Blasphemers, lately set up within this city of Dublin,' called *Blasters*. A letter from Bishop Forster to the author refers to this:—'Your account of the new Society of Blasters in Dublin is shocking: the zeal of all good men for the cause of God should rise in proportion to the impiety of these horrid blasphemers.' Stock tells that Berkeley expressed his sentiments on this subject 'in the [Irish] House of Lords, the only time he ever spoke there: the speech was received with much applause.' I have not found any record of this speech, but the Journals of the House shew that, on February 17, 1738, it was ordered 'that the Lords' Committees in Religion do meet after the rising of the House, and inquire as to the causes of the present notorious immorality and profaneness.' In March the Committees

reported 'that an uncommon scene of impiety and blasphemy appeared before them; that they have sufficient grounds to believe that several loose and disorderly persons have erected themselves into a Society or Club, under the name of *Blasters*, and have used means to draw into this Society several of the youth of this kingdom; that what the practices of this Society are (besides the general fame spread through the whole kingdom) appears by the examination of several persons taken upon oath in relation to Peter Lens, painter, lately come into this kingdom, who professes himself a Blaster. By these examinations it appears that Peter Lens professes himself to be a votary of the devil; that he hath offered up prayers to him, and publicly drank to the devil's health; that he hath at several times uttered the most daring and execrable blasphemies against the sacred name and majesty of God; and often made use of such obscene, blasphemous, and before unheard-of expressions, as the Lords' Committees think they cannot even mention to your Lordships. The Lords' Committees cannot take upon them to assign the immediate causes of such monstrous impieties; but they beg leave to observe, that of late years there hath appeared a greater neglect of religion than was ever before known in this kingdom[1].'

There is no proof that this contemptible Society deserved the notoriety which these proceedings conferred upon it, and the Journals give no later information. But, apart from this local symptom, there is more impressive evidence of prevailing irreligious scepticism in the nation about this time. This *Discourse* appeared almost simultaneously with the *Analogy* of Bishop Butler, who tells his readers, at the outset of his great work, that 'it is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry; but that it is now at length discovered to be

[1] See *Life and Letters of Berkeley*, pp. 254-5, note.

fictitious. And accordingly they treat it as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment; and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule; as it were by way of reprisals for having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world.' So Butler wrote in May, 1736.

Berkeley's *Discourse* is a defence of National Religion. It proceeds upon the ethical theory of civil authority contained in his *Discourse of Passive Obedience*. Magistrates, he argues, are concerned with the beliefs of society; seeing that the actions of men are determined by their beliefs; and especially by what they think and believe about God. It is true that such beliefs may, in the case of the majority, be unreasoned and received upon trust; but they are not on that account inoperative. In moral questions, utility and truth, according to Berkeley, are not to be divided; the good of mankind being the rule and measure of moral truth. It is a constitutive principle of society that religion should be reverenced. Thought no doubt should be free, but 'blasphemy against God is a great crime against the State'; and 'an inward sense of the supreme majesty of the King of kings is the only thing that can beget and preserve a true respect for subordinate majesty in all the degrees of power; the first link of authority being fixed at the throne of God.' Therefore inherited religious beliefs, whose worth has been tested by their utility, ought to be steadily sustained by the supreme power, under the highest ideal of the State[1].

[1] The *Harleian Miscellany* (vol. iii. pp. 177–85) contains *A Letter to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Cloyne, by a Gentleman in the Army, occasioned by a Dissertation by the Bishop on the text 'Gallio cared for none of these things.'* This *Letter*, professedly seconding the Bishop's appeal, appears to have been written about 1739. 'It contains,' says the Editor, 'so many touches of elegance and judgment that we could not refuse it a place in this Collection, in which, though it was our original design to recover such pieces as begin to disappear by their antiquity, we shall not neglect sometimes to preserve those writings from destruction which, by accident or envy, have been hitherto kept secret.'

This *Discourse* may be compared with that on *Passive Obedience*, as regards the ethics of national polity; also with the *Essay towards preventing the Ruin of Great Britain*, for its lamentation over social corruption. Its references to authorities ancient and modern shew Berkeley's increased disposition to learned research and dependence on authority, in his later years, a disposition more fully illustrated in *Siris*.

A DISCOURSE

ADDRESSED TO MAGISTRATES AND MEN IN AUTHORITY

THE pretensions and discourse of men throughout these kingdoms would, at first view, lead one to think the inhabitants were all politicians; and yet, perhaps, political wisdom hath in no age or country been more talked of, and less understood. Licence is taken for the end of government, and popular humour for its origin. No reverence for the law, no attachment to the constitution, little attention to matters of consequence, and great altercation upon trifles; such idle projects about religion and government, as if the public had both to choose; a general contempt for all authority, divine and human; an indifference about the prevailing opinions, whether they tend to produce order or disorder, to promote the empire of God or the devil—these are the symptoms that strongly mark the present age: and this could never have been the case, if a neglect of religion had not made way for it.

When the Jews accused Paul upon religious matters and points of their law before Gallio, the Roman magistrate, it is said that Gallio 'cared for none of these things.' And, it is to be feared, there are not a few magistrates in this Christian country who think with the same indifference on the subject of religion. Herein, nevertheless, they judge amiss, and are much wanting to their duty. For, although it be admitted that the magistrate's peculiar object is the temporal welfare of the state; yet, this will by no means exclude a proper care about the prevailing notions and opinions of religion, which influence the lives and actions of men, and have therefore a mighty effect on

the public. Men's behaviour is the consequence of their principles. Hence it follows that, in order to make a state thrive and flourish, care must be taken that good principles be propagated in the minds of those who compose it.

It would be vain to depend on the outward form, the constitution, and structure, of a state, while the majority are ever governed by their inward ways of thinking, which at times will break out and shew themselves paramount to all laws and institutions whatsoever. It must be great folly therefore to overlook notions, as matters of small moment to the state, while experience shews there is nothing more important; and that a prevailing disorder in the principles and opinions of its members is ever dangerous to society, and capable of producing the greatest public evils.

Man is an animal formidable both from his passions and his reason; his passions often urging him to great evils, and his reason furnishing means to achieve them. To tame this animal, and make him amenable to order, to inure him to a sense of justice and virtue, to withhold him from ill courses by fear, and encourage him in his duty by hopes; in short, to fashion and model him for society, hath been the aim of civil and religious institutions, and in all times, the endeavour of good and wise men. The aptest method for attaining this end hath been always judged a proper education.

If men's actions are an effect of their principles, that is, of their notions, their beliefs, their persuasions; it must be admitted that principles early sown in the mind are the seeds which produce fruit and harvest in the ripe state of manhood. How lightly soever some men may speak of notions, yet, so long as the soul governs the body, men's notions must influence their actions, more or less, as they are stronger or weaker; and to good or evil, as they are better or worse.

Our notions and opinions are a constant check on our appetites, and balance to our passions: and although they may not in every instance control and rule, yet they will never fail strongly to affect both the one and the other. What is it that bridles the impetuous desires of men? that restrains them when they are driven by the most violent passions? In a word, what is it that renders this world

habitable, but the prevailing notions of Order, Virtue, Duty, and Providence? Some, perhaps, may imagine that the eye of the magistrate alone is sufficient to keep mankind in awe. But, if every man's heart was set to do all the mischief his appetite should prompt him to do, as often as opportunity and secrecy presented themselves, there could be no living in the world.

And although too many of those entrusted with civil power, in these our days, may be said with Gallio to 'care for none of those things'; and many more, who would pass for men of judgment and knowledge, may look on notions early imbibed, before their grounds and reasons are apprehended or understood, to be but mere prejudices, yet this will detract nothing from their truth and usefulness. To place this matter in a due light, I propose to shew, that a system of salutary notions is absolutely necessary to the support of every civil constitution. I shall enforce this point by the testimony of those who are esteemed the wisest men; and I shall make some remarks on the modern prevailing spirit, and the tendency of the maxims of our times.

Order is necessary, not only to the wellbeing, but to the very being of a state. Now, order and regularity in the actions of men are not an effect of appetite or passion, but of judgment: and the judgment is governed by notions or opinions. There must, therefore, of necessity, in every state, be a certain system of salutary notions, a prevailing set of opinions, acquired either by private reason and reflexion, or taught and instilled by the general reason of the public; that is, by the law of the land. True it is that where men either cannot or will not use their own reason, think, and examine for themselves; in such case the notions taught or instilled into their minds are embraced rather by the memory than the judgment. Nor will it be any objection to say that these are prejudices; inasmuch as they are therefore neither less useful nor less true, although their proofs may not be understood by all men.

Licentious habits of youth give a cast or turn to age: the young rake makes an old infidel; libertine practices beget libertine opinions; and a vicious life generally ends in an old age of prejudice not to be conquered by reasoning.

Of this we see instances even in persons celebrated for parts, and who reason admirably on other points where they are not biassed; but on the subject of religion obtrude their guesses, surmises, and broken hints for arguments. Against such there is no reasoning.

Prejudices are notions or opinions which the mind entertains without knowing the grounds and reasons of them, and which are assented to without examination. The first notions which take possession of the minds of men, with regard to duties social, moral, and civil, may therefore be justly styled *prejudices*. The mind of a young creature cannot remain empty; if you do not put into it that which is good, it will be sure to receive that which is bad.

Do what you can, there will still be a bias from education; and, if so, is it not better this bias should lie towards things laudable and useful to society? This bias still operates, although it may not always prevail. The notions first instilled have the earliest influence, take the deepest root, and generally are found to give a colour and complexion to the subsequent lives of men, inasmuch as they are in truth the great source of human actions. It is not gold, or honour, or power that move men to act, but the opinions they entertain of those things. Hence it follows that if a magistrate should say—'No matter what notions men embrace, I will take heed to their actions;' therein he shews his weakness: for, such as are men's notions, such will be their deeds.

For a man to do as he would be done by; to love his neighbour as himself; to honour his superiors; to believe that God scans all his actions, and will reward or punish them; and to think that he who is guilty of falsehood or injustice hurts himself more than any one else;—are not these such notions and principles as a very wise governor or legislator would covet above all things to have firmly rooted in the mind of every individual under his care? This is allowed, even by the enemies of religion; who would fain have it thought the offspring of state policy, honouring its usefulness at the same time that they disparage its truth. What, therefore, cannot be acquired by every man's reasoning must be introduced by precept, and rivetted by custom; that is to say, the bulk of mankind must, in all civilised societies, have their minds, by timely

instruction, well seasoned and furnished with proper notions; which, although the grounds or proofs thereof be unknown to them, will nevertheless influence their conduct, and so far render them useful members of the state. But, if you strip men of these their notions, or, if you will, prejudices, with regard to modesty, decency, justice, charity, and the like, you will soon find them so many monsters, utterly unfit for human society.

I desire it may be considered that most men want leisure, opportunity, or faculties to derive conclusions from their principles, and establish morality on a foundation of human science. True it is (as St. Paul observes) that 'the invisible things of God, from the creation of the world are clearly seen' (Romans i. 20). And from thence the duties of natural religion may be discovered. But these things are seen and discovered by those alone who open their eyes and look narrowly for them. Now, if you look throughout the world, you shall find but few of these narrow inspectors and inquirers; very few who make it their business to analyse opinions and pursue them to their rational source, to examine whence truths spring, and how they are inferred. In short, you shall find all men full of opinions, but knowledge only in a few.

It is impossible, from the nature and circumstances of human kind, that the multitude should be philosophers, or that they should know things in their causes. We see every day that the rules or conclusions alone are sufficient for the shopkeeper to state his account, the sailor to navigate his ship, or the carpenter to measure his timber: none of which understand the theory, that is to say the grounds and reasons, either of arithmetic or geometry. Even so in moral, political, and religious matters; it is manifest that the rules and opinions early imbibed at the first dawn of understanding, and without the least glimpse of science, may yet produce excellent effects, and be very useful to the world; and that in fact they are so will be very visible to every one who shall observe what passeth round about him.

It may not be amiss to inculcate that the difference between prejudices and other opinions doth not consist in this—that the former are false, and the latter true; but in this—that the former are taken upon trust, and the latter

acquired by reasoning[1]. He who hath been taught to believe the immortality of the soul may be as right in his notion as he who hath reasoned himself into that opinion. It will then by no means follow that because this or that notion is a prejudice, it must be therefore false. The not distinguishing between prejudices and errors is a prevailing oversight among our modern Free-thinkers.

There may be, indeed, certain mere prejudices or opinions, which, having no reasons either assigned or assignable to support them, are nevertheless entertained by the mind, because they intruded betimes into it. Such may be supposed false, not because they were early learned, or learned without their reasons; but because there are in truth no reasons to be given for them[2].

Certainly, if a notion may be concluded false because it was early imbibed, or because it is with most men an object of belief rather than of knowledge, one may by the same reasoning conclude several propositions of Euclid to be false. A simple apprehension of conclusions as taken in themselves, without the deductions of science, is what falls to the share of mankind in general. Religious awe, the precepts of parents and masters, the wisdom of legislators, and the accumulated experience of ages supply the place of proofs and reasonings with the vulgar of all ranks: I would say that discipline, national constitution, and laws human and divine are so many plain land-marks, which guide them into the paths wherein it is presumed they ought to tread.

From what hath been premised, it plainly appears, that in the bulk of mankind there are and must be prejudices, that is, opinions taken upon trust; or, in other words, that there are points of faith among all men whatsoever, as well as among Christians.

And, as it is evident that the unthinking part of every age, sex, and condition among us, must necessarily receive notions with the submission of faith; so it is very reasonable that they should submit their faith to the greatest

[1] And there are *presuppositions* that are involved in the rational constitution of the universe, which can only be accepted in faith, because they are only imperfectly comprehensible by finite intelligence.

[2] But theistic faith, which contains by implication the fundamental presuppositions of experience, may be vindicated by reasoning.

authorities human and Divine, the law and the gospel. But if once all reverence for these be destroyed, our pretenders to moral knowledge will have no authority to imbue the multitude with such notions as may control their appetites. From all which it follows that the modern schemes of our Free-thinkers, who pretend to separate morality from religion, how rational soever they may seem to their admirers, are, in truth and effect, most irrational and pernicious to civil society[1].

Let any one who thinks at all consider the savage state of undisciplined men, whose minds are nurtured to no doctrine, broke by no instruction, governed by no principle. Let him at the same time reflect on a society of persons educated in the principles of our Church, formed betimes to fear God, to reverence their superiors, to be grateful to their benefactors, forgiving to their enemies, just and charitable to all men; and he will then be able to judge of the merits of those who are so active to weed out the prejudices of education.

Among the many wild notions broached in these giddy times, it must be owned that some of our declaimers against prejudice have wrought themselves into a sort of esteem for savages, as a virtuous and unprejudiced people. In proof of which, they allege their being free from many vices practised in civilised nations. Now, it is very true, among savages there are few instances to be found of luxury, avarice, or ambition; not that the contrary virtues take place, but because the opportunities and faculties for such vices are wanting. For the same reason, you do not see them in brutes.

What they esteem and admire in those creatures is not innocence, but ignorance: it is not virtue, but necessity. Give them but the means of transgressing, and they know no bounds. For example: supply the water-drinking savage with strong liquor, and he shall be drunk for several days and nights together. Again: we admit an uneducated savage knows not how to supplant a rival with the refined treachery of a courtier; yet, if you put his foe once in his power, you shall soon see what a horrible relish and delight the monster hath in cruelty.

[1] So in *Alciphron*, Dial. II, III.

Above all others, religious notions, or, if you will, prejudices (since this, as hath been already observed, detracts nothing from their truth and usefulness) have the most influence; they are the strongest curb from vice, and the most effectual spur to worthy conduct. And, indeed, whether we consider the reason of things, or the practice of men in all times, we shall be satisfied that nothing truly great and good can enter into the heart of one attached to no principles of religion, who believes no Providence, who neither fears hell, nor hopes for heaven.

Punishments and rewards have always had, and always will have, the greatest weight with men; and the most considerable of both kinds are proposed by religion, the duties whereof fall in with the views of the civil magistrate. It undeniably follows, that nothing can add more strength to a good and righteous government than Religion. Therefore it mainly concerns governors to keep an attentive eye on the religion of their subjects. And indeed it is one lesson to magistrate and people, prince and subject, 'Keep my commandments and live, and my law as the apple of thine eye' (Prov. vii. 2).

Although it is no consequence from what hath been said, that men should be debarred the free use of reason and inquiry, yet surely it will follow that, without good reason, a man should not reject those notions which have been instilled by the laws and education of his country. And even they who think they have such reason have nevertheless no right of dictating to others[1]. It is true, Divine authority is superior to all human prejudices, institutions, and regards whatsoever. And it is wise, although at the risk of liberty or life, to obey God rather than man. But our modern reformers of prejudices have nothing to plead of that kind[2].

There is no magistrate so ignorant as not to know that power—physical power—resides in the people: but authority is from opinion, which authority is necessary to restrain and direct the people's power; and therefore

[1] [Though a man's private judgment be a rule to himself, it will not thence follow that he hath any right to set it up for a rule to others.]—AUTHOR.

[2] [No man can say he is obliged in conscience, honour, or prudence, to insult the public wisdom; or to ridicule the laws under whose protection he lives.]—AUTHOR.

religion is the great stay and support of a state. Every religion that inculcates virtue and discourageth vice is so far of public benefit. The Christian religion doth not only this, but further makes every legal constitution sacred by commanding our submission thereto[1]. 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers (saith St. Paul), for the powers that be are ordained of God' (Rom. xiii. 1). And, in effect, for several years past, while the reverence for our Church and religion hath been decaying and wearing off from the minds of men, it may be observed that loyalty hath in proportion lost ground; and now the very word seems quite forgotten. Submission for conscience, as well as for wrath, was once reckoned a useful lesson; but now, with other good lessons, is laid aside as an obsolete prejudice.

The prince or magistrate, however great or powerful, who thinks his own authority sufficient to make him respected and obeyed, lies under a woful mistake, and never fails to feel it sooner or later. Obedience to all civil power is rooted in the religious fear of God: it is propagated, preserved, and nourished by religion. This makes men obey, not with eye-service, but in sincerity of heart. Human regards may restrain men from open and penal offences; but the fear of God is a restraint from all degrees of all crimes, however circumstanced. Take away this stay and prop of duty, this root of civil authority; and all that was sustained by it, or grew from it, shall soon languish. The authority, the very being of the magistrate, will prove a poor and precarious thing.

An inward sense of the supreme majesty of the King of kings is the only thing that can beget and preserve a true respect for subordinate majesty in all the degrees of power; the first link of authority being fixed at the throne of God[2]. But, in these our days, that *majestas imperii*, that sacredness of character, which rooted in a religious principle was the great guard and security of the state, is through want thereof become the public scorn. And indeed what hold can the prince or magistrate have on the conscience of those who have no conscience? How can he build on the principles of such as have no

[1] Cf. *Discourse on Passive Obedience.*

[2] So *Siris*, and its 'links' in the Universal Chain that terminates in God.

principles? Or how can he hope for respect where God Himself is neglected?

It is manifest that no prince upon earth can hope to govern well, or even to live easy and secure, much less respected by his people, if he do not contribute by his example and authority to keep up in their minds an awful sense of religion. As for a moral sense, and moral fitness, or eternal relations, how insufficient those things are for establishing general and just notions of morality, or for keeping men within due bounds, is so evident from fact and experience that I need not now enter into a particular disquisition about them [1].

It must be owned that the claws of rapine and violence may in some degree be pared and blunted by the outward polity of a state. But should we not rather try, if possible, to pull them quite out? The evil effects of wickedness may be often redressed by public justice. But would it not be better to heal the source, and, by an inward principle, extirpate wickedness from the heart, rather than depend altogether on human laws for preventing or redressing the bad effects thereof? 'I might (said the Chinese Doctor Confucius) hear and decide controversies as well as another: but what I would have is, that men should be brought to abstain from controversies out of an inward love and regard for each other [2].'

Too many in this age of free remarks and projects are delighted with republican schemes; and imagine they might remedy whatever was amiss, and render a people great and happy, merely by a new plan or form of government. This dangerous way of thinking and talking is grown familiar, through the foolish freedom of the times [3]. But, alas! those men do not seem to have touched either the true cause or cure of public evils. Be the plan ever so excellent, or the architects ever so able, yet no man in his wits would undertake to build a palace with mere mud or dirt. There must be fit materials; and without a religious

[1] [See *Alciphron*, Dial. III and IV.]—AUTHOR.

[2] [*Scientia Sin.* Lib. I. fol. 12.] —AUTHOR. The reference is to the *Confucius Sinarum philosophus, sive Scientia Sinensis*, published at Paris in 1687.

[3] [Men forget that liberty consists in a mean, or that there is any other extreme beside tyranny.] —AUTHOR.

principle men can never be fit materials for any society, much less for a republic. Religion is the centre which unites, and the cement which connects the several parts or members of the political body[1]. Such it hath been held by all wise men, from the remotest times down to our ingenious contemporaries; who, if they are in the right, it must be admitted that all the rest of the world have been in the wrong.

From the knowledge of its being absolutely necessary to the government of a state that the hearts and minds of the people be inwardly imbued with good principles, Plato[2] tells that 'Jupiter, to preserve the race of men from perishing, sent Mercury, with orders to introduce modesty and justice among them, as the firmest ties of human society; and without which it could not subsist.' And elsewhere[3] the same author gives it plainly as his sense, that 'concerning those great duties which men's appetites and passions render difficult, it should seem rather the work of God to provide, than of human legislators; if it were possible to hope for a system of laws framed and promulgated by God Himself.' You see how agreeable the Mosaic and Christian institutions are to the wishes of the wisest heathen.

Moses, indeed, doth not insist on a future state, the common basis of all political institutions; nor do other lawgivers make a particular mention of all things necessary, but suppose some things as generally known or believed. The belief of a future state (which it is manifest the Jews were possessed of long before the coming of Christ) seems to have obtained among the Hebrews from primaeval tradition; which might render it unnecessary for Moses to insist on that article. But the Sadducees and Epicureans had, in progress of time, gone so far towards rooting out this ancient and original sentiment that it was in danger of being lost, had it not been taught and promulgated in a new light by our Blessed Saviour[4].

But many among us who would pass for assertors of

[1] Theistic faith is for man the ultimate synthetic principle of the universe, and so of his experience

[2] [*In Protagora.*]—AUTHOR.

[3] [*De Legibus*, Lib. VIII.]—AUTHOR.

[4] This is a crude uncritical account of the gradual development among the Jews of faith in a life after death.

truth and liberty are accustomed to rail at this, and all other established opinions, as prejudices which people are taught whether they will or no, and before they are able to distinguish whether they are right or wrong. These lovers of truth would do well to consider that, in political, moral, and religious matters, the opinions of the vulgar, whether they go in coaches, or walk on foot, are for the most part prejudices; and are so like to be, whatever side of the question they embrace; whether they follow the old maxims of the religion of their country, or the modern instructions of their new masters. I have already observed that a point's being useful, and inculcated betimes, can be no argument of its falsehood, even although it should be a prejudice; far otherwise, utility and truth are not to be divided; the general good of mankind being the rule or measure of moral truth [1].

I shall now add, that it is to be apprehended many of those who are the most forward to banish prejudices would be the first to feel the want of them. It is even pitiful to think what would become of certain modern declaimers on that article were prejudice really set aside, and were all men to be weighed in the exact scale of merit, and considered in proportion only to their intrinsic worth. Some prejudices are grounded in truth, reason, and nature [2]. Such are the respects which are paid to knowledge, learning, age, honesty, and courage, in all civilised countries. Others are purely the effect of particular constitutions: such are the respects, rights, and pre-eminences ascribed to some men by their fellow subjects, on account of their birth and quality; which, in the great empires of Turkey and China, pass for nothing; and will pass for nothing elsewhere, as soon as men have got rid of their prejudices, and learned to despise the constitutions of their country. It may behove those who are concerned to reflect on this betimes.

God, comprehending within Himself the beginning, end, and middle of all things and times, exerts His energy throughout the whole creation. He never ceaseth to

[1] [See *Alciphron*, Dial. I. sect. 16.]—AUTHOR.

[2] In a word, the faith that Omnipotent Goodness is at the root of the universe in which we find ourselves; and that therefore we cannot be finally put to confusion by the physical and moral experience in which the Universal Power is manifested to us.

influence by instinct, by the light of nature, by His declared will. And it is the duty of magistrates and lawgivers to cultivate and encourage those divine impressions in the minds of all men under their care. We are not to think it is the work of God, and therefore not to be seconded by human care. Far otherwise: for that very reason it claims our utmost care and diligence; it being the indispensable duty of all good men, throughout the whole course of their lives, to co-operate with the designs of Providence. In religion, as in nature, God doth somewhat, and somewhat is to be done on the part of man. He causeth the earth to bring forth materials for food and raiment; but human industry must improve, prepare, and properly apply both the one and the other, or mankind may perish with cold and hunger. And, according to this same analogy[1], the principles of piety and religion, the things that belong to our salvation, although originally and primarily the work of God, yet require the protection of human government, as well as the furtherance and aid of all wise and good men.

And if religion in all governments be necessary, yet it seems to be so more especially in monarchies: forasmuch as the frugal manners and more equal fortunes in republics do not so much inflame men's appetites, or afford such power or temptation to mischief, as the high estate and great wealth of nobles under a king. Therefore, although the magistrate (as was already observed) hath for his peculiar object the temporal wellbeing of the state, yet this will by no means exempt him from a due concern for the religion of his country.

What was the sense of our ancestors on this point appears throughout the whole constitution of these kingdoms: and, in order to justify this constitution, and the wisdom of those who framed it, I shall crave leave to make use of some unsuspected testimonies, ancient and modern, which will shew that the public care of a National Religion

[1] [It will be sufficient if such analogy appears between the dispensations of grace and nature, as may make it probable to suppose them derived from the same Author. —*Alciphron*, Dial. VI. sect. 31.]—AUTHOR.

Butler, in his *Analogy*, argues that there is nothing in Christianity more at variance with morality than what is presented to us in the facts of ordinary experience.

hath been always a most principal point in the esteem of wise men, however run down by the prevailing licence of our times.

The first testimony I shall produce is that of Zeleucus, the famous lawgiver of the Locrians, who, in his preamble to his laws[1], begins with religion, laying it down as the corner-stone or foundation of his whole superstructure, 'that every inhabitant, subject of the state, should be persuaded that there is a God and Divine Providence: that the only way of becoming dear to God is by endeavouring above all things to be good, both in deed and in will: that a worthy citizen is one that prefers integrity to wealth.' He farther admonishes those who are difficult to persuade, 'to bethink themselves of God's providence, and the punishments that await evil-doers; and in all their actions to be ever mindful of the last day as if it were present, or in case the devil[2] should tempt a man to sin, he exhorts such a one to frequent the temples and altars, worshipping and imploring the Divine assistance.'

Aristotle[3], discoursing of the means to preserve a monarchy, admonishes the supreme magistrate, above all things, to shew himself zealous in religious matters; and this particularly for two reasons—'1. Because the subjects will have less to fear from one who fears God. 2. Because they will be less apt to rebel against him whom they take to be the favourite of Heaven.' And elsewhere this same philosopher recommends the worship of the gods, as the first care of the state[4].

Plato likewise begins his Laws with the care of religious rites. He even maintains religion or Divine worship, to be the chief aim and scope of human life[5].

Hippodamus the Milesian[6], in his scheme of a republic, allotted a third part of the land for maintaining Divine worship[7].

[1] [Stobæus *De Leg. et Consuet.* Ser. 145.]—AUTHOR.

The reference is to the *Sermones* (Ἀνθολόγιον) of Stobæus, the learned Greek compiler.

[2] [Δαίμων κακός.]—AUTHOR.

[3] *De Republ.* Lib. V.]—AUTHOR.

[4] [Ibid. Lib. VII. cap. 17.]—AUTHOR.

[5] [*De Leg.* Lib. IV et Lib. VI.]—AUTHOR.

[6] [Arist. *De Republ.* Lib. II. cap. 8.]—AUTHOR.

[7] [The abolishing of the Christian religion upon a frugal principle must be bad policy, if we

The Roman historians and poets do so abound with passages ascribing the successes of their government to religion, and its declension to the want or neglect thereof, that it may seem impertinent to enter into a detail of what every school-boy knows.

To come from ancient to modern authority, Machiavel himself represents religion as absolutely necessary to maintain civil order and government. He observes, that for many years there was a most awful sense of religion in the old Romans; and that this did much facilitate their great undertakings. He likewise observes, and shews by divers instances, that the Romans were more afraid to break an oath than to transgress the laws; and that those things which even the love of their country and constitution could not bring them to, they were brought to through a sense of religion. Upon the whole he concludes, that old Rome was more obliged to Numa, who established a national religion, than to Romulus himself, the founder of that state [1].

And here by-the-by I shall take notice, that some may imagine the various forms and institutions of religion ought to unsettle men's minds with regard to the truth and certainty of any. But this matter rightly considered, will, I think, produce a contrary effect. It sheweth, indeed, that men, groping out their way by the dim twilight of nature, did only approach, some nearer, some farther off; while all were short of the truth. But then it sheweth likewise, upon the whole and in general, that religion is so natural to our minds, so useful to society, and of so necessary importance to the world, as might well prove its truth; and render it worthy of the Divine care to propagate by prophecies, miracles, and the mission of the Son of God.

Philip de Comines [2], a wise statesman and honest writer, who had great experience in affairs, declares it to be his opinion, 'that want of religious faith is the only fountain of all mischiefs.'

may judge what will be by what hath been in the great Pagan states of antiquity; whose religions, upon a fair estimate, will be found to have been more expensive.] —AUTHOR.

[1] *Discorsi*, Lib. I. cap. 12.]—AUTHOR.

[2] *Hist.* B. V.] AUTHOR.

And that able minister, the famous Monsieur Colbert, makes it his observation, 'that if once the ecclesiastical character, as such, is vilified, the civil magistrate, even the crown itself, will, in consequence thereof, lose all authority[1].

It would be no hard matter to produce a cloud of testimonies in behalf of a national religion, from the most eminent of our own writers; but I shall content myself with adding one only, and that from a very unsuspected writer, Mr. Harrington, author of the *Oceana*, who shews that to be just and fair which others have shewed to be expedient. 'A man (saith he) that, pleading for liberty of conscience, refuseth liberty to the national conscience, must be most absurd[2].' And again: 'If the conviction of a man's private conscience produce his private religion, the conviction of the national conscience must produce a national religion[3].'

All these authorities are taken from thinking men and able politicians, none of which can be supposed to say what he did not really think; and it had been very easy to have increased the number. But I am sorry I was obliged to mention any at all, in proof of so plain and fundamental a point as that of a national religion. It is, indeed, a shameful necessity we lie under, at proving at this time of the day the first elements, I will not say of Christianity, but even of natural light, from reasons and from authorities. The spirit of the times hath rendered this unavoidable.

If it should be asked after all, How comes it then to pass that the fashionable and prevailing maxims among our betters in a neighbouring nation should run directly counter to all such reasons and authorities? I will answer this question by asking, When were our neighbours known to abound to that degree in highwaymen, murderers, housebreakers, incendiaries? When did such numbers lay violent hands on themselves? When was there such a general and indecent contempt of whatever is esteemed sacred, in the state as well as the Church? When were there known among them such public frauds, such open

[1] [*Test. Pol.* c. 8.]—AUTHOR.
[2] [P. 27, first edit.]—AUTHOR.
[3] [Ibid.]—AUTHOR.

confederacies in villainy, as the present age hath produced? When were they lower in the esteem of mankind, more divided at home, or more insulted abroad?

We of this land have a fatal tendency to overlook the good qualities, and imitate whatever is amiss in those whom we respect. This leads me to make some remarks on the modern spirit of reformation, that works so strongly in both these kingdoms.

Freedom of thought is the general plea and cry of the age. And we all grant that thinking is the way to know; and the more real knowledge there is in the land, the more likely it will be to thrive. We are not therefore against freedom of thought; but we are against those unthinking overbearing people[1], who, in these odd times, under that pretence, set up for reformers, and new moulders of the constitution. We declare against those, who would seduce innocent and unexperienced persons from the reverence they owe to the laws and religion of their country; and, under the notion of extirpating prejudices, would erase from their minds all impressions of piety and virtue; in order to introduce prejudices of another kind, destructive of society.

We esteem it a horrible thing to laugh at the apprehensions of a future state, with the author of the *Characteristics*[2]; or, with him who wrote the *Fable of the Bees*[3], to maintain that 'moral virtues are the political offspring which flattery begot upon pride[4]'; that 'in morals there is no greater certainty than in fashions of dress[5]'; that, indeed, 'the doctrine of good manners teacheth men to speak well of all virtues; but requires no more of them in any age or country, than the outward appearance of those in fashion[6]. Two authors of infidel systems these; who, setting out upon opposite principles,

[1] [It is not reason candidly proposed that offends, but the reviling, insulting, ridiculing, of the national laws and religion; all this profiteth for free-thinking, and must needs be offensive to all reasonable men.]—AUTHOR.

[2] Shaftesbury. [Vol. III. *Miscel.* III. cap. 2.]—AUTHOR.

[3] Mandeville.

[4] [*Inquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue.* Ed. VI. p. 37.]—AUTHOR.

[5] [The author's *Remarks* on his *Fable of the Bees*, p. 379.] AUTHOR.

[6] [*Remarks*, Part II. p. 155.]—AUTHOR.

are calculated to draw all mankind, by flattering either their vanity or their passions, into one or other system. And yet the people among whom such books are published wonder how it comes to pass that the civil magistrate daily loseth his authority, that the laws are trampled upon, and the subject in constant fear of being robbed and murdered, or having his house burnt over his head?

It may be presumed that the science of finding fault, which above all others is easiest to learn, suits best with a modern education. Too many there are of better fortunes than understandings, who have made the inquiry after truth a very small part of their care; these see somewhat, but not enough. It were to be wished they knew either less or more. One thing it is evident they do not know; to wit, that while they rail at prejudice, they are undoing themselves: they do not comprehend (what hath been before hinted), that their whole figure, their political existence, is owing to certain vulgar prejudices, in favour of birth, title, or fortune, which add nothing of real worth either to mind or body; and yet cause the most worthless person to be respected.

Freedom of thought is the prerogative of human kind; it is a quality inherent in the very nature of a thinking being. Nothing is more evident than that every one can think his own way, in spite of any outward force or power whatsoever. It is therefore ridiculous for any man to declaim in defence of a privilege which cannot be denied or taken from him. But this will not infer a boundless freedom of speech[1], an open contempt of laws, and a prescribing from private judgment[2] against public authority, things never borne in any well-ordered state; and which make the crying distemper of our times.

[[3]The constitution of these kingdoms hath been one while overheated by the indiscreet zeal of one set of men: Again it hath been cold and lifeless through the indiffer-

[1] [Is there no difference between indulging scrupulous consciences, and tolerating public deriders of all conscience and religion?]—AUTHOR.

[2] [A man who is himself permitted to follow his own private judgment, cannot well complain, although he may not set it up as a public rule.]—AUTHOR.

[3] The two paragraphs within brackets, contained in the *Discourse* in the London edition of the *Miscellany*, are omitted in the Dublin edition, published in the same year —probably by accident.

ence of another[1]. We have alternately felt the furious effects of superstition and fanaticism; and our present impending danger is from the setting up of private judgment, or an inward light in opposition to human and divine laws. Such an inward conceited principle always at work, and proceeding gradually and steadily, may be sufficient to dissolve any human fabric of polity or civil government. To pretend to be wiser than the laws hath never been suffered in any wise State, saith Aristotle[2]. And indeed what wise State would encourage or endure a spirit of opposition[3] publicly to operate against its own decrees? who can say to such a spirit, Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther?

The Magistrate, perhaps, may not be sufficiently aware that those pretended advocates for private light and free thought are in reality seditious men, who set up themselves against national laws and constitutions. And yet one would think all mankind might see, that the spirit which prevails against the Church and Religion proceeds from an opposition rather to the laws of the land than to the Gospel. Men quarrel not so vehemently against articles of faith themselves, as against the establishing of such matters; which is the sole effect of law and the supreme power. It clearly follows, the freedom pleaded for is not so much freedom of thought against the doctrines of the Gospel, as freedom of speech and action against the laws of the land. It is strange, that those who are not blind in other matters, should yet not see this; or, that seeing it, they should not discern the consequences thereof.]

I am sensible, that whatever looks like a restraint on freedom of inquiry, must be very disagreeable to all reasoning and inquisitive men. But against this I have said nothing[4]. On the contrary, I will freely own, a

[1] [There is a medium in things, which wise men find out, while the unwise are always blundering in extremes.]—AUTHOR.

[2] [*Rhet.* Lib. I. cap. 15.]—AUTHOR.

[3] [Reason modestly pleading from a conscientious principle hath nothing cruel to apprehend from our laws, and I hope it never will. At the same time, it must be allowed, that every plea against law ought to be very meek and modest.]—AUTHOR.

[4] [The profane and lawless scorner is one thing, and the modest inquirer after truth another.]—AUTHOR.

judicious and impartial search after truth is the most valuable employment of the mind. Those who have the talents, and will be at the pains, cannot do better than engage in that noble pursuit[1]. But those who are not qualified by age or education; those who have neither disposition nor leisure, nor faculties to dig in the mine of truth themselves, must take it as retailed out by others. I see no remedy. God, who knows the opportunities of every man, requires impossibilities from no man. And where there is a sincere love of truth and virtue, the grace of God can easily supply the defect of human means.

It hath been before observed, and shewed at large, that the bulk of mankind must have their minds betimes imbued with good and wholesome notions or principles, by their parents, pastors, and tutors, or else bad notions, hurtful to themselves and others, will undoubtedly take possession thereof. Such bad notions have, for several years past, been propagated with uncommon industry in these kingdoms: they now bring forth fruit every day more and more abundant. It is to be feared that what hath been long ripening is now near ripe. Many are the signs and tokens. He that runs may read.

But there cannot be a higher or more flagrant symptom of the madness of our times than that execrable Fraternity of Blasphemers, lately set up within this city of Dublin[2]. Blasphemy against God is a great crime against the State. But that a set of men should, in open contempt of the laws, make this very crime their profession, distinguish themselves by a peculiar name[3], and form a distinct Society, whereof the proper and avowed business shall be, to shock all serious Christians by the most impious and horrid blasphemies, uttered in the most public manner: this surely must alarm all thinking men. It is a new thing under the sun, reserved for our worthy times and country.

It is no common blasphemy I speak of. It is not simple cursing and swearing: it is not the effect either of habit or surprise; but a train of studied, deliberate indignities against the Divine Majesty; and those of so black and hellish a kind as the tongues alone which uttered them

[1] So in *Siris*, sect. 368.

[2] This *Discourse* was *published* in Dublin?

[3] [Blasters.]—AUTHOR.

can duly characterise and express. This is no speculative heresy, no remote or doubtful inference from an author's tenets. It is a direct and open attack on God Himself. It is such a calm premeditated insult upon religion, law, and the very light of nature that there is no sect or nation of men, whether Christians, Jews, Mahometans, or even civilised heathens, that would not be struck with horror and amazement at the thought of it, and that would not animadvert[1] on its authors with the utmost severity.

Deliberate atheistical blasphemy is of all crimes most dangerous to the public, inasmuch as it opens the door to all other crimes, and virtually contains them all;—a religious awe and fear of God, being (as we have already observed) the centre that unites, and the cement that connects all human society. He who makes it his business to lessen or root out from the minds of men this principle doth in effect endeavour to fill his country with highwaymen, housebreakers, murderers, fraudulent dealers, perjured witnesses, and every other pest of society. Therefore, it would be the greatest cruelty to our children, neighbours, and country to connive at such a crime; a crime which hath no natural passion or temptation to plead for it, but is the pure effect of an abandoned impudence in wickedness; and, perhaps, of a mistaken hope that the laws and magistrates are asleep.

The question is not now, whether religion shall be established by law: the thing is already done (and done with good reason, as appeareth from the premises), but whether a reverence[2] for the laws shall be preserved. Religion, considered as a system of saving truths, hath its sanction from heaven; its rewards and penalties are divine. But religion, as useful and necessary to society, hath been wisely established by law; and so established, and wrought into the very frame and principles of our government, is become a main part of the civil constitution. Our laws are the laws of a Christian country: our govern-

[1] [They (if there be any such) who think to serve the Reformation, by joining with Blasters and devil-worshippers, in a plea for licence, are in truth a scandal and reproach to the Protestant cause.]—AUTHOR.

[2] [They who plead a right to contradict the laws, can pretend none for doing it with insolence or disrespect.]—AUTHOR.

ment hath been constituted and modelled by Christians; and is still administered and maintained by men professing belief in Christ. Can it then be supposed that impious men shall with impunity invent and publicly utter the most horrid blasphemies, and, at the same time the whole constitution not be endangered[1]? Or can it be supposed that magistrates, or men invested with power, should look on, and see the most sacred part of our constitution trampled under foot, and yet imagine their own dignity and authority to be secure, which rest entirely thereupon? I will venture to say that whoever is a wise man, and a lover of his country, will not only be solicitous to preserve the honour of God sacred and entire; he will even discourage that prevailing prejudice against the dispensers of God's word, the teachers of those salutary doctrines, without which the public cannot thrive or subsist. He will be no contemner, not even of those rites and ordinances enjoined by law, as necessary to imprint and retain a sense of religion in the minds of men. He will extend his care to the outworks, as knowing that when these are gone, it may be difficult to preserve the rest.

Notwithstanding the vain assertion of those men who would justify the present by saying 'all times are alike,' it is most evident that the magistrates, the laws, the very constitution of these realms have lost no small share of their authority and reverence, since this great growth and spreading of impious principles. Whatever be the cause, the effect is apparent. Whether we ascribe it to the natural course of things, or to a just judgment upon those who, having been careless to preserve a due sense of the Divine authority, have seen and shall see their own despised.

Darius, a heathen prince, made a decree, that in every dominion of his kingdom men should tremble and fear before God (Dan. vi. 26). Nebuchadnezzar, likewise,

[1] [To make the cause of such men the cause of liberty or toleration would be monstrous. A man is not suffered publicly to blaspheme; therefore he may not think freely: a profane miscreant is not indulged in the public worship of the devil; therefore a conscientious person may not serve God his own way. Is not this absurd?]—AUTHOR.

another heathen, made a decree, that every people, nation, and language which spoke anything amiss against God should be cut in pieces, and their houses made a dunghill (Dan. iii. 29). And if these things were done in Persia and Babylon, surely it may be expected that impious blasphemers against God and His worship should at least be discouraged and put out of countenance in these Christian countries. Now, a constant course of disfavour from men in authority would prove a most effectual check to all such miscreants. When, therefore, they are public and bold in their blasphemies, this is no small reflexion on those who might check them if they would.

It is not so much the execution of the laws as the countenance of those in authority that is wanting to the maintenance of religion. If men of rank and power, who have a share in distributing justice, and a voice in the public councils, shall be observed to neglect divine worship themselves, it must needs be a great temptation for others to do the same. But if they and their families should set a good example, it may be presumed that men of less figure would be disposed to follow it. Fashions are always observed to descend, and people are generally fond of being in the fashion; whence one would be apt to suspect the prevailing contempt of God's word, and estrangement from His house, to a degree that was never known in any Christian country, must take its rise from the irreligion and bad example of those who are styled 'the better sort.'

Offences must come, but woe be to him by whom the offence cometh. A man who is entrusted with power and influence in his country hath much to answer for, if religion and virtue suffer through want of his authority and countenance. But, in case he should, by the vanity of his discourse, his favour to wicked men, or his own apparent neglect of all religious duties, countenance what he ought to condemn, and authorise by his own example what he ought to punish; such a one, whatever he may pretend, is in fact a bad patriot, a bad citizen, and a bad subject, as well as a bad Christian.

Our prospect is very terrible; and the symptoms grow stronger every day. The morals of a people are in this like their fortunes; when they feel a national shock, the worst doth not shew itself immediately. Things make a

shift to subsist for a time on the credit of old notions and dying opinions. But the youth born and brought up in wicked times, without any bias to good from early principle or instilled opinion, when they grow ripe must be monsters indeed. And it is to be feared, that age of monsters is not far off.

Whence this impiety springs, by what means it gains ground among us, and how it may be remedied, are matters that deserve the attention of all those who have the power and the will to serve their country. And although many things look like a prelude to general ruin; although it is much to be apprehended, we shall be worse before we are better; yet who knows what may ensue, if all persons in power, from the supreme executor of the law down to a petty constable, would, in their several stations, behave themselves like men truly conscious and mindful that the authority they are clothed with is but a ray derived from the supreme authority of Heaven? This may not a little contribute to stem that torrent, which, from small beginnings, and under specious pretences, hath grown to such a head, and daily gathers force more and more, to that degree as threatens a general inundation and destruction of these realms.

PRIMARY VISITATION CHARGE

DELIVERED TO THE CLERGY

OF THE

DIOCESE OF CLOYNE

First published in 1871

NOTE

This Charge, found among the Berkeley MSS. in the Rose collection, is undated, but it appears to have been delivered at Berkeley's Visitation as Bishop of Cloyne in one of the first years of his episcopate. It is interesting as an expression of his view of the relations between the members of the Roman Church and the clergy under his charge, shewing a sympathetic regard for those of another communion, whose highest good he sought to promote by the manifestation of charity, instead of the spirit of sectarian controversy.

PRIMARY VISITATION CHARGE

Since the duty of my station and the received custom require me, at this my first visitation, to propose to you whatever I shall think conducive to the better discharge of the important trust committed to your care, I shall desire your attention for a few minutes.

You all know, and indeed it is but too visible that we live in an age wherein many are neither propitious to our order nor to the religion we profess—scoffers, walking after their own lusts, which St. Peter foretold should come in these last days. It behoves, therefore, clergymen to behave with more than common vigilance, zeal, and discretion, if they would either preserve the love and reverence of their friends, or disarm the censure of their enemies. Thus much concerning all clergymen in general, as such.

But those of the Established Church in this kingdom have need of double diligence in their callings, and an extraordinary circumspection in their behaviour, as we live among men of a different communion, abounding in numbers, obstinate in their prejudices, backward to acknowledge any merits, and ready to remark any defects in those who differ from them. And this circumstance should make us not only more cautious how we behave among such neighbours, but likewise more diligent and active in their conversion.

Though it is to be feared that clergymen too often look on Papistry within their parishes as having no relation to them, nor being at all entitled to any share of their pains or concern. But if they are not so properly and immediately part of our flock as those of our own communion, they are nevertheless to be considered as members of the

Catholic Church, very corrupt, indeed, and unsound, yet professing faith in the same Saviour. And this gives them some relation to us more than mere infidels and heathen. But supposing them to be no better than infidels or heathen, will any man say that it is not the duty of Christ's ministers to convert infidels and preach the Gospel to heathen? Had such a maxim prevailed in the primitive times, how could Christianity have been propagated throughout the world?

True it is that, as the education of Protestants is for the most part more liberal and ingenuous than that of Roman Catholics, so those of our communion are more ready to argue and more apt to judge for themselves than they. Protestants, I say, are neither so blind nor so enslaved as their adversaries; who are made to believe that every the least doubt in religious matters is criminal, or even the giving ear to anything that can be said against their preconceived opinions. And, indeed, herein consists the chief skill and management of their priests to keep their flocks both blind and deaf. For could they be but once brought to open their eyes and reason upon the points in controversy, the business of their conversion would be more than half done.

The main point, therefore, is to bring them to reason and argue; in order to which it should seem the right way to begin with a proper behaviour. We should be towards them charitable, gentle, obliging, returning good for evil, shewing and having a true concern for their interest, not always inveighing against their absurdities and impieties. At least we ought not to begin with taxing them as fools and villains, but rather treat of the general doctrines of morality and religion wherein all Christians agree, in order to obtain their good opinion, and so make way for the points controverted between us, which will then be handled with greater advantage.

I say we must first win upon their affections, and so having procured a favourable hearing, then apply to their reason. If we judge of other men's tempers by our own, we shall conceive it expedient that we should seem to think the best of their personal qualities, their integrity, and love of truth; use the greatest candour ourselves, make all possible concessions, appeal to their own reason, and

make them judges of our tenets and the arguments by which we support them.

It is a remarkable difference between them and us, that they find their principal account in addressing to the passions of men, we in applying to their reason; they to the meanest capacities, we to the most distinguished and improved. In fact, if we consider the proselytes on both sides, we shall find the converts to the Church of Rome to be mostly women and uneducated people; whereas the converts from Popery are those of the best sense and education among them. Were there many of this sort, it should seem less difficult for us to make proselytes. But even as it is, there is still a difference between them. And we may presume the better sort will be more easily wrought on; nothing being more sure than that ignorance is ever attended with the most obstinate prejudice, men making up for want of light by abundance of heat. And if the better sort were once converted, the natural inclination of following their chiefs would soon facilitate the conversion of others.

One would imagine it might not be impossible to prevail with reasonable men of the Church of Rome to come into our religious assemblies, if it were only for curiosity; and this might take off much of their prejudice and aversion, by letting them see what our worship is, although they should not be prevailed upon to join in it. And yet, all things considered, what should hinder a professed Papist from hearing a sermon, or even joining occasionally in the ordinary offices of our Church? The difference is that in our liturgy divers prayers and hymns are omitted which are to be found in theirs. But then, what is retained even they themselves approve of; since we innovated nothing, having only weeded out and thrown away those superstitions that grew up in the dark and ignorant ages of the Church. May we not therefore argue with the Papists thus:—There is nothing in our worship which you cannot assent to, therefore you may conform to us; but there are many things in yours that we can by no means allow, therefore you must not expect that we can join in your assemblies.

It were needless to furnish you with arguments against such adversaries. The only difficulty lies in bringing

them into the field. True it is that prejudices early imbibed and sunk deep in the mind are not immediately got rid of; but it is as true that in every human creature there is a ray of common sense, an original light of reason and nature which the worst and most bigoted education, although it may impair, can never quite extinguish. There is no man who considers seriously but must see that whatever flatters men in their sins, whatever encourages cruelty and persecution, whatever implies a manifest contradiction, whatever savours of fraud and imposture, can be no part of the wisdom from above, can never come from God. When, therefore, you can bring one of these adversaries to consider attentively and argue calmly on the points that divide us, you will soon find his own reason on your side.

But although you who have the care of souls were ever so capable and ever so willing to bring the strayed sheep into the flock, to enlighten and convince your adversaries, yet it may perhaps still be said, that there is an insuperable difficulty in coming at them, that they are so many deaf adders that stop their ears and hear not the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely. This, I grant, is a great difficulty, but do not think it an insuperable one. Opportunities may be found, and sometimes offer of themselves, if they are not overlooked or neglected.

The work, I own, might be more easily done if Papists could be brought to seek instruction and attend your sermons. But even where this cannot be hoped for, may not something be done by conversation? Occasional discourse, I say, that imperceptibly glides from one subject to another, may be so conducted by a prudent person to those topics he hath a mind to treat of, as if they naturally arose from what went before, or came by accident in the way. We may observe that, whenever the inclination is strongly set towards a thing or bent on any purpose, handles for attaining it do now and then present themselves which might otherwise never be thought of.

The Protestant friends and Protestant relations of Roman Catholics may furnish occasions of your meeting and conversing with those whom you may perhaps think you cannot so properly visit at their own houses; though it were to be wished that good neighbourhood and the friendly commerce of life was not interrupted by difference

in religion. It is certain that the very same doctrine which a man would never read in a book or hear in a sermon, may sometimes be insinuated in free conversation: that a subject, which, if proposed at once might shock, being introduced by degrees might take: that what comes as it were from chance is often admitted, while that which looks like design is guarded against: and that he who will not seek instruction may nevertheless receive it.

And even in those cases where you are utterly excluded from any immediate intercourse with your Popish parishioners, if the more religious laymen of your parish were sufficiently instructed in the chief points of the Popish controversy, I apprehend it might often lie in their way to give a helping hand toward the conversion of Papists; who, although they will not submit to be taught, may yet condescend to teach, to inform those that shall appear inquisitive, to resolve a doubt modestly proposed; and may by such means be drawn into an argument before they are aware of it. Neighbourhood gives opportunities, and dependence gives an influence; all which opportunities and influence might, one would think, produce something, especially if managed and improved with skill.

There is, doubtless, an indiscreet, warm, overbearing manner; and in the hands of those who have it the best arguments are weak, and the best cause will suffer. There is, on the other hand, a gentle, prudent, and obliging way which would be an advantage to the worst, a way that softens the heart and prepares it for conviction. Would you in earnest make proselytes, follow St. Paul's example, and in his sense 'become all things to all men,' that you may gain some. Adopt as much as you conscientiously can of their ways of thinking; suit yourselves to their capacities and their characters; put yourselves in their places, and then consider how you should like to be dealt with, and what would offend you. If your intention is rather to gain a proselyte than to triumph over him, you must manage his passions, and skilfully touch his prejudices. To convince men, you must not begin with shocking, angering, or shaming them.

I do not mean that you should favour their prejudices, or palliate their absurdities; on the contrary, when you have once obtained a favourable hearing, when you have

prepossessed them with an opinion of your own candour, when, by a skilful application of 'precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little' (to use the prophet's language), you have in some measure made them sensible of errors and wrong principles,—you may then proceed to set the wickedness of their practices and the absurdities of their superstitions in the strongest light, and paint them in their true colours.

I told you before that it was not my design to furnish you with arguments against the Church of Rome, which I conceive you are already sufficiently provided with. All I intended was to give you some general directions about the use and application of them.

Before I quit this subject I must recommend it to your care to acquaint yourselves with the state of Popery, and diligently to watch over its progress or decrease. In order to which it is highly expedient that you inform yourselves annually of the numbers of Papists within your respective parishes. Your own discretion will shew you the easiest way for doing this. One thing I will venture to say, that it is not impossible to be done, and I am sure it ought to be done.

I believe you are not ignorant that some measures have been formerly taken in several parts of the kingdom, I mean by itinerant preachers in the Irish tongue, which failed of the desired effect; other measures are also now set on foot by charity schools, which it is hoped may have better success. But neither the miscarriage of the one, nor the hopes of the other, should prevent every one of you from setting his hand to the plough, as opportunity serves. The Protestant preachers in the Irish tongue failed of success for want of audiences; and this was without remedy. But that which did not do in one time or place may, perhaps, succeed better in another. At least, I wish it were tried, if any amongst you are sufficient masters of the language. As for the Protestant schools, I have nothing particular to say, more than recommend to your perusal what hath been already published on that subject.

But all methods, I fear, will be ineffectual if the clergy do not co-operate and exert themselves with due zeal and diligence for compassing so desirable an end; which, if it

were once set about with the same earnest and hearty endeavours that the Popish clergy shew in their missions, we should, I doubt not, in a little time see a different face of things, considering the great advantages that you possess over your adversaries, having such superiority of education, such protection from the laws, such encouragement and countenance from the government: in a word, every reasonable help and motive is on our side, as well as the truth of our cause.

And yet, as things are, little is done; which must undoubtedly be owing, not so much to the difficulty of the work, as to the remissness of those who ought to do it. In the beginning of the Reformation many proselytes were made by Protestant divines. Was there then less prejudice on one side, or more ability on the other? Nothing of this, but only a greater measure of zeal and diligence in the Reformers. It must, without doubt, to any indifferent observer seem a little unaccountable that in a country where the true religion hath been so long established, there should yet remain so great a majority involved in blindness and superstition. This, I say, will hardly be accounted for if the clergy are supposed with due care and pains to discharge their duty.

An habitual or a prevailing neglect may perhaps still incline some to think that this is no part of their duty. Others may be apt to conclude that where there is no penalty appointed by the law of the land, there is no obligation. But surely it must be very wrong and very strange for a Christian pastor to measure his duty by the rule either of law or of custom. There is a rule of conscience and a rule of Scripture, and by these rules it is evidently the duty of parochial clergy to labour the conversion of those who are infected with idolatry or superstition within their several parishes. But, besides all this, there is an express canon directing all ministers to confer with the Popish recusants within their parishes, in order to reclaim them from their errors.

Rather than treat in general of the pastoral care, I have chosen to dwell on this particular branch, which seems less attended to. I have endeavoured to shew you that it is really a branch of your duty, that it is a duty not impossible to be executed, and what methods seem to me

most likely to succeed, which, if diligently put in practice, cannot, I think, be altogether without effect. But if nothing else should ensue, you, my brethren, will at least have the satisfaction of being conscious that it was not for want of using your best endeavours. It is impossible, indeed, minutely to prescribe what should be done, how much, and in what manner. That must be left to every man's conscience and discretion. But, in conclusion, I recommend it to you all, both in the discharge of this duty, and in every other part of your conduct, to have constantly before your eyes that most excellent and extensive precept of our Blessed Saviour: 'Be ye wise as serpents and innocent as doves.'

Out of Bishop Butler's letter:—'However, one must not so far despair of religion as to neglect one's proper part with regard to it; and they who take care to perform it faithfully, have the comfort that all will finally end well for themselves, whatever becomes of this mad world.' (This, on the blank page in the MS., seems to imply correspondence with Butler, who was then rector of Stanhope).

ADDRESS ON CONFIRMATION[1]

It is fit that you who are brought hither to be confirmed should, in the first place, be made acquainted with the nature and reason of this institution; in order to which you must understand that there is a twofold kingdom of Jesus Christ.

For first, as He is the eternal Son of God, He is lord and sovereign of all things. And in this large sense the whole world or universe may be said to compose the kingdom of Christ. But secondly, besides this large and general sense, the kingdom of Christ is also taken in a more narrow sense, as it signifies His Church. The Christian Church, I say, is in a peculiar sense His kingdom, being a society of persons, not only subject to His power, but also conforming themselves to His will, living according to His precepts, and thereby entitled to the promises of His Gospel.

This peculiar kingdom or Church of Christ hath great and peculiar privileges. While the rest of the world is estranged from God and liable to the sentence of eternal death, the Church is reconciled to God through Christ, is justified by faith in Him, redeemed by His sufferings, and sanctified by His Spirit; no longer subject to death, sin, or the devil, but made children of God and heirs of eternal life.

This happy state is called the state of grace, wherein those who were by nature children of wrath are become objects of the divine favour. The conditions of your admission into this state are faith and repentance, and the outward sign and seal thereof is baptism. Christ reconciles us to God and takes us under His protection; but then it is in virtue of a covenant, and a covenant requires something to be done on both sides. If much is promised on

[1] Found, undated, among the Berkeley MSS., and first published in 1871.

the part of God, somewhat is to be promised and performed on ours also. If you hope for the divine blessings, you must not be unmindful of the promises to the performance whereof those blessings were annexed. And forasmuch as such promises were made in your name by your godfathers and godmothers at a time when you were unable to make them yourselves, or to understand the force and meaning of them, it is fit that, now you are grown up, you should take them upon yourselves. And though your assent hath been often implied and declared by the repetitions of creeds and catechisms, yet it is highly expedient for the more full, open, and solemn declaration thereof that you do in the face of the Church renew your baptismal vow, and manifest your entire assent to all that which your sureties had before promised in your name and on your behalf.

This declaration will most solemnly engage you to the performance of three things : first, that you shall renounce the devil and all his works, the pride of life, and the sinful lusts of the flesh ; secondly, that you shall believe all the articles of the Christian faith, which are summed up in the Apostles' Creed ; and in the third place, that you shall conform your lives to the will and commandments of Almighty God.

All those things which your sureties have undertaken for you, and which the faith you have hitherto professed doth already oblige you to perform, doth the present public deliberate renewal of your vow, at this time and place in your own proper persons, after a more especial manner bind upon your consciences. And that you may be the better enabled to discharge these obligations, you must pray to God for the assistance of His grace and Holy Spirit.

I have thought it fit to insist on these particulars, not only for the instruction of those who present themselves to be confirmed, but also for the sake of all who hear me, to the end that all such who having before received confirmation, might nevertheless not have hitherto reflected duly thereon, being made sensible of the great concern and importance of the engagements they have entered into, may seriously think of fulfilling them for the future, which God of His infinite mercy grant.

A LETTER

TO SIR JOHN JAMES, BART.

ON THE

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ROMAN AND ANGLICAN CHURCHES

WRITTEN IN 1741

First published in 1850

NOTE

Sir John James was an intimate friend of Berkeley's, one of those who accompanied him to Rhode Island in September, 1728. He succeeded to the title in 1736, and about that time he returned from America. In 1741 Sir John made known to him his intention to join the Church of Rome. This letter, found among the Berkeley MSS., was Berkeley's reply. It was first published in 1850 by the Rev. James Anderson, of Brighton. It is almost the only expression we have of his views upon points of difference between the Roman and Anglican Churches. The MS. is unfortunately defective in some places. Notwithstanding, it deserves preservation, as a luminous exposition, charged with his spirit of Christian toleration and charity.

Sir John James, who was the last baronet of his line, died about three months after this *Letter* was written. Berkeley says that he was of 'a thoughtful and noble nature; one who lived above what is called the world, making the pursuit of truth, and the *unum necessarium* his chief business.' See chapter viii of my *Life and Letters of Berkeley*.

A LETTER

TO

SIR JOHN JAMES, BART.

CLOYNE, *June* 7, 1741.

DEAR SIR,

I WOULD not defer writing, though I write in no small confusion and distress; my family having many ill of an epidemical fever that rages in these parts, and I being the only physician to them and my poor neighbours. You have my sincere thanks for the freedom and friendship with which you are so good to communicate your thoughts. Your making the *unum necessarium* your chief business sets you above the world. I heartily beg of God that He would give me grace to do the same; a heart constantly to pursue the truth, and abide in it, wherever it is found.

No divine could say, in my opinion, more for the Church of Rome than you have done:—

> 'Si Pergama dextrâ
> Defendi possent, etiam hâc defensa fuissent.'
>
> [Virg. *Æneid* II. 291.]

The Scriptures and Fathers, I grant, are a much better help to know Christ and His Religion than the cold and dry writings of our modern divines. Many who are conversant in such books, I doubt, have no more relish for the things of the Gospel, than those who spend their time in reading the immense and innumerable tomes of Scholastic Divinity, with which the Church of Rome abounds. The dry polemical theology was the growth of Rome, begun from Peter Lombard, the Master of the Sentences[1]; and grew and spread among the Monks and Friars, under the Pope's eye. The Church of England is

[1] So named from his *Liber Sententiarum*, the standard book of Scholastic Theology, which appeared in 1172.

not without spiritual writers of her own. Taylor, Ken, Beveridge, Scott, Lucas, Stanhope, Nelson, the author of the works falsely ascribed to the writer of the *Whole Duty of Man*, and many more, whom I believe you will find not inferior to those of the Church of Rome. But I freely own to you that most modern writings smell of the age, and that there are no books so fit to make a soul advance in spiritual perfection, as the Scriptures and ancient Fathers.

I think you will find no Popery in St. Augustine, or St. Basil, or any writers of that antiquity. You may see, indeed, here and there, in the Fathers a notion borrowed from Philosophy (as they were originally philosophers); for instance, something like a Platonic or Pythagorean Purgatory. But you will see nothing like indulgences, or a bank of merits, or a Romish purgatory, whereof the Pope has the key. It is not simply believing even a Popish tenet, or tenets, that makes a Papist, but believing on the Pope's authority. There is in the Fathers a divine strain of piety, and much of the spiritual life. This, we acknowledge, all should aspire after, and I make no doubt is attainable, and actually attained, in the communion of our Church, at least as well as in any other.

You observe very justly that Christ's religion is spiritual, and the Christian life supernatural; and that there is no judge of spiritual things but the Spirit of God. We have need, therefore, of aid and light from above. Accordingly, we have the Spirit of God to guide us into all truth. If we are sanctified and enlighted by the Holy Ghost and by Christ, this will make up for our defects without the Pope's assistance. And why our Church and her pious members may not hope for this help as well as others, I see no reason. The Author of our faith tells us, He that 'will do the will of God, shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God.' (St. John vii. 17.) I believe this extends to all saving truths.

There is an indwelling of Christ and the Holy Spirit; there is an inward light. If there be an *ignis fatuus* that misleads wild and conceited men, no man can thence infer there is no light of the sun. There must be a proper disposition of the organ, as well as a degree of daylight, to make us see. Where these concur nobody doubts of

what he sees. And a Christian soul, wherein there is faith, humility, and obedience, will not fail to see the right way to salvation by that light which lightens the Gentiles, and is a glory to Israel.

There is an invisible Church, whereof Christ is the head; the members of which are linked together by faith, hope, and charity. By faith in Christ, not in the Pope. Popes are no unerring rule, for Popes have erred: witness the condemnation and suppression of Sixtus Quintus's Bible by his successor[1]. Witness the successions of Anti-Popes for a long tract of time[2].

There is a secret unction, an inward light and joy, that attends the sincere fervent love of God and His truth, which enables men to go on with all cheerfulness and hope in the Christian warfare. You ask, How I shall discern or know this? I answer much more easily than I can that this particular man, or this particular society of men, is an unerring rule. Of the former I have an inward feeling, jointly with the internal, as well as exterior, λόγος, to inform me. But for the latter I have only the Pope's word, and that of his followers.

It is dangerous arguing from our notion of the expediency of a thing to the reality of the thing itself. But I can plainly argue from facts against the being of such an expedient. In the first centuries of the Church, when heresies abounded, the expedient of a Pope, or Roman oracle, was unknown, unthought of. There was then a Bishop of Rome; but that was no hindrance or remedy of divisions. Disputes in the Catholic Church were not ended by his authority. No recourse was had to his infallibility; an evident proof they acknowledged no such thing. The date of his usurpations, and how they grew with his secular power, you may plainly see in Giannoni's *History of Naples*[3]: I do not refer you to a Protestant writer.

[1] The reference is to the Vulgate, authenticated by the Council of Trent, and commanded by Pope Sixtus V in 1590 to be adopted by the Church; two years afterwards condemned, and ordered to be suppressed, by his successor Clement VIII. This is presented as a dilemma to Roman Catholics in Gibson's *Preservative against Popery*.

[2] This refers to the schism in the Church in 1378.

[3] Pietro Giannoni (1676–1748) devoted twenty years of research to this History, the candour of which brought upon him the hostility of the Church. He died in prison at Turin.

Men travelling in daylight see by one common light, though each with his own eyes. If one man should say to the rest, Shut your eyes and follow me, who can see better than you all; this would not be well taken. The sincere Christians of our communion are governed, or led, by the inward light of God's grace, by the outward light of His written word, by the ancient and Catholic traditions of Christ's Church, by the ordinances of our national Church, which we take to consist all and hang together. But then we see, as all must do, with our own eyes, by a common light, but each with his own private eyes. And so must you too, or you will not see at all. And, not seeing at all, how can you choose a Church? why prefer that of Rome to that of England? Thus far, and in this sense, every man's judgment is private as well as ours. Some, indeed, go further; and, without regard to the Holy Spirit, or the Word of God, or the writings of the primitive Fathers, or the universal uninterrupted traditions of the Church, will pretend to canvass every mystery, every step of Providence, and reduce it to the private standard of their own fancy; for reason reaches not those things. Such as these I give up and disown, as well as you do.

I grant it is meet that the Law of Christ should, like other laws, have magistrates to explain and apply it. But then, as in the civil State, a private man may know the law enough to avoid transgressing it, and also to see whether the magistrates deviate from it into tyranny: even so, in the other case, a private Christian may know, and ought to know, the written law of God, and not give himself up blindly to the dictates of the Pope and his assessors. This, in effect, would be destroying the law, and erecting a despotic government instead thereof. It would be deserting Christ, and taking the Pope for his master.

I think it my duty to become a little child to Christ and His Apostles, but not to the Pope and his courtiers. That many honest and well-meaning men live under such thraldom I freely admit, and am sorry for it. I trust that God will have compassion on them, as knowing how they were educated, and the force of first impressions. But we, who never had their education, cannot plead their prejudices.

Light and heat are both found in a religious mind duly disposed. Light, in due order, goes first. It is dangerous to begin with heat, that is, with the affections. To balance earthly affections by spiritual affections is right. But our affections should grow from inquiry and deliberation; else there is danger of our being superstitious or enthusiasts. An affection conceived towards a particular Church, upon reading some spiritual authors of that communion, which might have left a bias in the mind, is, I apprehend, to be suspected. Most men act with a bias. God knows how far my education may have biassed me against the Church of Rome, or how far a love of retreat and a fine climate may bias me towards it. It is our duty to try and divest ourselves of all bias whatsoever.

Whatever unguarded expressions may be found in this or that Protestant divine, it is certainly the doctrine of our Church that no particular Church, or congregation of believers, is infallible. We hold all mankind to be peccable and errable, even the Pope himself, with all that belong to him. We are like men in a cave, in this present life, seeing by a dim light through such chinks as the Divine goodness hath opened to us[1]. We dare not talk in the high, unerring, positive style of the Romanists. We confess that 'we see through a glass darkly' (1 Cor. xiii. 12); and rejoice that we see enough to determine our practice, and excite our hopes.

An humble, devout, penitent believer, not biassed by any terrene affections, but sincerely aiming and endeavouring, by all the means God hath given him, to come at truth, need not fear being admitted into the Kingdom of God without the Pope's passport. There is indeed an invisible Church whereof Christ is head; linked together by charity, animated with the same hope, sanctified by the same Spirit, heirs of the same promise. This is the Universal Church, militant and triumphant: the militant, dispersed in all parts of Christendom, partaking of the same Word and Sacraments. There are also visible, political or national Churches: none of which is Universal. It would be a blunder to say particular universal. And yet, I know not how, the style of Roman Catholic hath prevailed. The members of this Universal Church are not

[1] So Plato. Cf. *Siris*, sect. 367, and its general tone.

visible by outward marks, but certainly known only to God, whose Spirit will sanctify and maintain it to the end of time.

The Church is a calling, ἐκκλησία: 'Many are called, but few are chosen.' (St. Matt. xxii. 14.) Therefore there is no reckoning the elect by the number of visible members. There must be the invisible grace, as well as the outward sign; the spiritual life and holy unction to make a real member of Christ's invisible Church. The particular Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, &c. have all fallen into error. (Art. XIX.) And yet, in their most corrupt and erroneous state, I believe they have included some true members of that body whereof 'Christ is head'; of that building whereof He is 'the corner stone.' (Ephes. iv. 15; ii. 20.) 'Other foundation can no man lay,' but on this foundation. There may be superstructures of 'hay, stubble' (1 Cor. iii. 11, 12), and much contemptible trash, without absolutely annihilating the Church. This I take to have been evidently the case. Christ's religion is spiritual and supernatural; and there is an unseen cement of the faithful, who draw grace from the same source, are enlightened by the same 'Father of lights' (James i. 17), and sanctified by the same Spirit. And this, although they may be members of different political or visible congregations, may be estranged, or suspected, or even excommunicate to each other. They may be loyal to Christ, however divided among themselves. This is the charitable belief of the true sons of our Church; however contrary to the damning temper of Rome, and the sour severity of Dissenters.

To explain this by a familiar instance. When King Charles II was at Brussels, he had friends in England of different factions, and suspected, or even hated, each by other; who yet alike wished the King well, and corresponded with him, though not with one another. The King knew his loyal subjects, though they were not known, owned, or trusted mutually. They all promoted his return, though by different schemes; and, when he came to his kingdom, they all rejoiced with him.

But perhaps you will say there is need of an infallible visible guide for the soul's quiet. But of what use is an infallible guide without an infallible sign to know him

by[1]? We have often seen Pope against Pope, and Council against Council. What or whom shall we follow in these contests, but the written Word of God, the Apostolical traditions, and the internal light of the λόγος, that irradiates every mind, but is not equally observed by all[2]? If you say, notwithstanding these helps and lights, that we are still weak, and have weak eyes; in a word, that we may err: I say, so may you. Man is fallible; and God knows it; and God is just. I am more easy on these principles, and this way of thinking, than if I tamely and slothfully gave myself up to be ridden and hoodwinked by the Pope, or by any other visible judge upon earth.

The security and repose of souls is pretended or promised to be had in the bosom of the Roman Church. But, I think, least of all to be hoped for, in a Church which, by her doctrine of the priest's intention being necessary to the efficacy of Sacraments, must raise in every thinking member infinite and indissoluble scruples. Since it is acknowledged that. many Infidels and Jews and Mahometans have been ordained, and possessed all degrees of dignity, and administered all Sacraments, in the Church of Rome: therefore all Sacraments derived either mediately or immediately from such, were ineffectual: therefore, no particular member can know, upon the principles of the Church of Rome, whether he is a Christian or not: therefore, that very Church, which sets up above all others for making men easy and secure within her communion, is, indeed, more than any other, calculated for producing doubts and scruples, such as I do not see possible how they should be solved or quieted upon her principles.

You seem to think the numerousness of her sons an argument of her truth. But it is admitted the Mahometans are more numerous than the Christians; and that the Arians, once upon a time, were more numerous than the Orthodox. Therefore, that argument concludes nothing.

As for her miracles, which you think so well attested that thinking Protestants dare not deny them, I declare honestly that the best attested of her miracles that I have

[1] So argued by Sherlock in a tract which appeared originally in Gibson's *Preservative*. The Romanists retort by an *argumentum ad hominem* against Protestant defenders of the infallibility of the Bible.

[2] The λόγος, the 'inward light,' now appear in Berkeley's thought, more fully soon afterwards in *Siris*.

met with, and the only that seemed to have any verisimilitude, were those said to be performed at the tomb of Abbé Paris[1]; and those are not admitted by the Church of Rome herself. I have read, inquired, and observed myself, when abroad, concerning their exorcisms[2], and miracles; and must needs say they all appeared so many gross impositions. As for the miracles said to be performed in foreign missions, I can give no credit to them (I judge by what accounts I have seen); and, if you will be at the trouble of perusing the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des Missions Étrangères*, printed at Paris, perhaps you may think of them as I do[3].

As for the Roman Saints and Martyrs, please to read their legends, or even the canonizations of the last century, since Rome hath been enlightened and something reformed by our Reformation, for those of St. Pietro d'Alcantra and St. Magdalena de Pazzi. I believe you never read of anything like them and their marvellous wonders, which nevertheless were admitted for authentic by Pope and Cardinals. I myself saw and conversed with a woman at Genoa, a reputed Saint, whose head I met three years after, encircled with rays, to be sold among other pictures in the great square of Leghorn. This same Saint appeared to me very manifestly a vile lying hypocrite, though much extolled and admired.

I never saw any character of a Popish Martyr that came up to that of Jerome of Prague, one of the first Reformers; for which I refer you to Poggius, and Æneas Sylvius, who was eye-witness to his behaviour, and afterwards became Pope.

Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were, I think, good men, and acted on good motives. So was Jewell a very good man. I wish you'd read his little Latin book in defence of the Reformation[4]. I have not seen it these thirty

[1] An ascetic who died in France in 1727. After his death miracles were said to have been wrought at his grave. They are referred to by Hume in his Essay on 'Miracles'; also in Douglas's *Criterion*, p. 132, and Paley's *Evidences of Christianity*, Pref. II. c. 2.

[2] At Leghorn in 1714. See *Life and Letters of Berkeley*, pp. 69–70.

[3] The *Lettres édifiantes* appeared between 1717 and 1776, in 32 vols.

[4] Jewell's *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, which appeared in 1562, drew great attention at the time, and was translated into various

years; but remember I liked it well. Hooker, Usher, Dodwell, Fell, Hammond, and many more Protestants of our Church, had piety equal to their learning.

Basil Kennet[t], Chaplain to the factory of Leghorn in Queen Anne's reign, was esteemed and called a Saint by the Papists themselves, as the English merchants there assured me. On the other hand, in so many converts, and such a numerous clergy, that there may be found sundry good and learned men, I make no doubt, whose learning and piety are skilfully made use of and applied by the Court of Rome to extend her influence and credit.

You mention monasteries to have been anciently regarded as schools of Divine Philosophy. But there is, by what I can find, no similitude between ancient and modern monks. Compare what St. Bernard, in his treatise *De Vitâ Solitariâ*, saith of the monks of Thebais, with what you will see in the monasteries of Flanders. I fear there is no corruption, or perversion, worse than that of a monastic life.

It seems very expedient that the world should have, among the many formed for action, some also formed for contemplation, the influence whereof might be general and extend to others. But to get men and women to a contemplative life, who are neither fitted nor addicted to contemplation, is a monstrous abuse. To assist the λύσις and φυγή of the Soul by meditation was a noble purpose, even in the eyes of Pagan Philosophy[1]. How much more so in the eyes of Christians, whose philosophy is of all others the most sublime, and the most calculated to wean our thoughts from things carnal, and raise them above things terrestrial!

That the contemplative and ascetic life may be greatly promoted by living in community and by rules, I freely admit. The institution of the Essenes among the Jews, or the Republic of Philosophers, that was to have been settled in a city to have been built by the direction of Plotinus[2], in the territory of Capua, if the Emperor

languages. The Council of Trent appointed two of its members to answer it.

[1] This was a growing tendency with Berkeley now. Cf. *Siris*, sect. 302, 358.

[2] Plotinus, the Neoplatonist of Alexandria, of the third century, spent the last twenty-five years of his life at Rome, and Campania, in

Gallienus had not changed his mind;—such institutions as these give delightful images, but very different from anything that I could ever see in a Popish convent; and I have seen and known many of them.

I should like a convent without a vow, or perpetual obligation. Doubtless, a college or monastery (not a resource for younger brothers, not a nursery for ignorance, laziness, and superstition) receiving only grown persons of approved piety, learning, and a contemplative turn, would be a great means of improving the Divine Philosophy, and brightening up the face of religion in our Church. But I should still expect more success from a number of gentlemen, living independently at Oxford, who made divine things their study, and proposed to wean themselves from what is called the world[1].

You remark on the badness of men and views that seem to have concurred in the Reformation. That there may be some truth in the charge, I will not deny. But I deny that this can be an argument against the Reformation; since you seem to grant yourself that the Church of Rome hath been reformed on occasion of our Reformation, which yet you condemn. Evil men and councils may sometimes be the occasion of good. And it is on all hands admitted that God knows how to extract good from evil.

The charge of Idolatry on the Church of Rome (which you make so light of) is, I fear, not without foundation. For, although the learned may, and do, distinguish between a relative respect for images, and an absolute worship of them[2]; yet it cannot be doubted that the use made of them becomes a great snare to the multitude. I myself, by talking to some common people in Italy, found they worshipped images with an adoration as formal and stupid as any heathen idolater. And both I and every other traveller must see (and the best men among them-

philosophical lecturing and authorship. He projected a city in Campania on the model of Plato. Berkeley was now drawing towards Plotinus and the Neoplatonists, as we see in *Siris*.

[1] Already Berkeley projects Oxford, as the scene of an ideal life.

[2] So in Bossuet's *Exposition*, sect. 5, where he defends material images, as means of sustaining in devout persons a religious sense of what they symbolise—after the analogy of family pictures. Cf. references to this subject in Berkeley's *Journal in Italy*.

selves are scandalised to see it) that the Blessed Virgin is often prayed to and more worshipped than God Himself.

You speak of the unity and peace of the Church of Rome, as an effect of the Spirit of God presiding in it, and of the doctrine of an infallible head. But the fact is denied. Successions of Anti-Popes with horrible dissensions, violent measures and convulsions ensuing thereupon, sufficiently shew the contrary. The Court of Rome, it must be owned, hath learned the Venetian policy of silencing her sons, and keeping them quiet through fear. But where there breathes a little spirit of learning and freedom, as in France; or, where distance has lessened respect, as in China; there have often appeared, and ever and anon continue to appear, great struggles, parties, and divisions, both in matters of faith and discipline. And, where they are quiet, their union seems, so far as I can judge, a political union, founded in secular power and arts, rather than an effect of any divine doctrine or spirit.

Those who are conversant in history plainly see by what secular arts the Papal power was acquired. To history, therefore, I refer you. In the meantime, I cannot forbear making one remark which I know not whether it hath been made by others. Rome seems to have cut her own throat by the forgery of Constantine's Donation [1], in which there is this remarkable clause: *Decernentes sancimus, ut ROMANA ECCLESIA principatum teneat tam super quatuor sedes, Alexandrinam, Antiochenam, Hierosolymitanam, ac Constantinopolitanam, quam etiam super omnes in universo orbe terrarum Dei ecclesias.*

Doth not this look like an acknowledgment that the see of Rome oweth her pre-eminence to the appointment of Constantine the Great, and not to any divine right?

. . . . . .

[*In this part of the M.S. four pages are wanting. In what follows, chasms are supplied here and there by words within brackets.*]

many innovations are in theirs, which we account repugnant to the Word of God, and the primitive traditions. Therefore, a Papist of any tolerable reason, though bred up in

[1] A forgery, attributed to Isidore, which appeared in the ninth century, in which Charlemagne is exhorted to imitate the great Constantine.

the Roman Church, may, nevertheless, with a good conscience, occasionally join in our worship; and I have known this done. May I not therefore hope that you will continue to do it, and not, in perfect complaisance to the Pope, renounce and damn us all? In the meantime, you may deliberate, continue your impartial inquiry, and well weigh your steps, before you range under the Pope and receive his mark.

I had forgot to say a word of Confession, which you mention as an advantage in the Church of Rome which is not to be had in ours. But it may be had in our communion, by any who please to have it; and, I admit, it may be very usefully practised. But, as it is managed in the Church of Rome, I apprehend it doth infinitely more mischief than good. Their casuistry seemeth a disgrace, not only to Christianity, but even to the light of nature.

As Plato thanked the gods that he was born an Athenian, so I think it a peculiar blessing to have been educated in the Church of England. My prayer, nevertheless, and trust in God is, not that I shall live and die in this Church, but in the true Church. For, after all, in respect of religion, our attachment should only be to the truth[1]. I might, therefore, own myself a little surprised upon observing that you concluded your letter with declaring—You trust, by God's grace, to live and die in the Church of Rome. I can easily suppose that the expression was a slip; but I can never suppose that all [the] skill and arts of Rome can destroy your candour.

You will pardon the freedom of an old friend, who speaks his thoughts bluntly, just as they come, to one who used to be [a man] of frankness without forms. If I have exceeded in this kind, impute it to haste, as well as my repetitions, inaccuracies, and want of order. You set me a time; and I have obeyed as I could; hoping that your own thought will give clearness and method to my broken and indigested hints.

To your own thoughts I appeal, trusting that God will give you grace to think for yourself, and to exert that sharpness of judgment, which He has given you, with double diligence, in this most weighty affair. There are some writings of my Lord Falkland's, concerning the Infal-

[1] So afterwards in *Siris*, sect. 368.

libility of the Roman Church, bound up in the second volume of Dr. Hammond's works, together with some learned arguments in behalf of the Church of Rome[1]. I have not read those writings; but, on the reputation of Lord Falkland, venture to recommend [them] to your perusal.

The importance of the subject, together with my esteem and affection for you, have run me into a greater length than I intended: which if you are so good as to pardon this once, I promise to be more succinct and methodical another time, if you think fit to favour me with an answer. In which case I would entreat you to number your paragraphs with figures prefixed, which will govern and shorten my answer.

The years I have lived, the pains I have taken, and the distempers I labour under, make me suspect I have not long to live. And, certainly, my remnant of life, be it what it will, could be spun out delightfully in the sun and the fresco, among the fountains and grottos, the music, the antiquities, the fine arts and buildings of Rome, if I could once recommend myself to her religion. But I trust in God, those . . . . . things shall never bribe my judgment. Dress therefore your batteries against my reason; attack me by the dry light . . . assign me some good reason why I should not use my reason, but submit at once to his Holiness's will and pleasure. Though you are conqueror, I shall be a gainer. In the work of truth, I am ready to hear and canvass with the best of . . . skill, whatever you shall be so good to offer.

To your kind inquiry about my health, I can say that, though I am not well, yet I am less bad than I was a year ago; and that . . . minal disorders seem to quit me, though with a leisurely pace. My family is a great comfort to me. My wife, who is just recovered from an illness, always remembers you with the highest esteem; and interests herself in your welfare. She sends her compliments; but knows nothing of the subject of our correspondence. If she did, I doubt it would make her think better of the Church of Rome, in which she liked some

[1] *Of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome.* A discourse written by the Lord Viscount Falkland (1645).

things when she was in France. She is become a great farmer of late. In these hard times we employ above a hundred men every day in agriculture of one kind or other; all which my wife directs. This is a charity, which pays itself. At least the Domaine of this see will gain by it. Oh! that you had a farm of a hundred acres near Oxford! What a pleasure it would be to improve and embellish the face of nature, to lead the life of a patriarch rather than a friar, a modern cloistered friar! My wife finds in it a fund of health and spirits, beyond all the fashionable amusements in the world. Dear Sir, you have the best wishes and most hearty prayers of your most obedient and affectionate servant,

G. Cloyne.

TWO LETTERS

ON THE

OCCASION OF THE REBELLION IN 1745

Published in the 'Dublin Journal'

NOTE

THESE two *Letters* appeared in Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, the one on Tuesday, October 15, and the other on Saturday, October 19, 1745. It is characteristic of Berkeley that he specially addressed the members of the Roman Church in his diocese, as well as the clergy of his own communion. He was the only Irish bishop who did so. That this independent action was appreciated appears in the next number of the *Dublin Journal*, which reprints the *Letter to the Roman Catholics* with the following head-note :—'There having been a great demand for the following Letter, it is reprinted, at the earnest request of several Protestants as well as Roman Catholics.' The *Letter* appears in 1746, in *An Impartial History of the Life and Death of James the Second*. It is contained in the *Miscellany* of 1752, which omits the *Letter to the Clergy*; in like manner omitted till it was reproduced by Mr. Sampson in 1898.

The two *Letters* appeared when Charles Edward was keeping Court at Holyrood, after Prestonpans, and before the march from Edinburgh to Derby.

I

A LETTER

TO HIS

CLERGY BY THE BISHOP OF CLOYNE

ON THE OCCASION OF THE REBELLION IN 1745

My Reverend Brethren,

You are, I doubt not, sufficiently apprised of the calamities that must attend our being governed by a Popish prince, as well as of the steps that are now taken to bring this about. If there be in some other part of his Majesty's dominions, any Protestant subjects so infatuated to flatter themselves with hopes of enjoying their religious and civil rights under such a head, I dare say there are none such to be found among the Protestants of this Kingdom, and least of all among the Clergy whose sure ruin is involved in that of the established Church, which whatever quarter she may hope for elsewhere can most assuredly hope for none in Ireland.

To confirm this (could it be supposed to want confirmation) I can assure you from a very credible and unsuspected authority, that upon an invasion in the late reign, when those who drew up the Pretender's manifesto had inserted a clause for securing the Churches of England and Ireland as by law established, the Church of Ireland was struck out by his own hand. I say not this as if I suspected your loyalty, for whatever some prejudiced enemies to your order may suggest, no candid person will suppose you to be wicked without temptation.

I am persuaded no part of his Majesty's subjects are more loyal than our brethren of the established Church in this kingdom, and they have every motive spiritual and temporal to make them peculiarly so. It may not, never-

theless, be improper to stir up your apprehensions at the present critical juncture for yourselves and your flocks, who on this southern coast are most exposed to an invasion and (as our enemies too well know) least prepared against it. You will not therefore be wanting to excite the people under your care to make proper remonstrances where they may be likeliest to take effect and to concert measures for their common safety.

The worse we are provided with others, the better should we provide ourselves with spiritual weapons, humiliation, repentance, prayer, and trust in God. For, be assured we never had, humanly speaking, so bad a chance for our religious liberties as at this time, if we should be so unhappy as to see the present enterprise succeed and a Popish prince, nursed and brought up in the very bosom of spiritual blindness and superstition, placed on the throne.

The reign of the late King James produced few converts to his religion. But the great number of infidels which have since sprung up, how clamorous and vehement soever they may seem against Popery, may yet be presumed ready for a temporal interest to embrace it. Nor is it uncharitable to suppose that those who are inwardly of none will be outwardly of the Court religion. From this quarter, as I know our adversaries conceive the greatest hopes, so I apprehend we have most to fear.

It behoveth us, therefore, my brethren, in this critical and dangerous conjuncture, not to behave (in the Prophet's phrase) like dumb dogs, but to be earnest and instant in calling on our people to exert themselves with prudence and fortitude, and in putting up our prayers to Almighty God, that He would avert the evils which threaten us, and that He would not deal with us according to our merits, but His mercies, nor suffer the glorious light and liberty of the Reformation to be quenched or withdrawn, for the sins of those who by abusing them have shewed themselves unworthy of such inestimable blessings. I am,

Your faithful and affectionate brother,

G. Cloyne.

II

A LETTER

TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF THE DIOCESE OF CLOYNE

My Countrymen and Fellow Subjects,

Notwithstanding the differences of our religious opinions, I should be sorry to be wanting in any instance of humanity or good neighbourhood to any of you. For which reason I find myself strongly inclined, at this critical juncture, to put you in mind that you have been treated with a truly Christian lenity under the present government; that your persons have been protected, and your properties secured by equal laws: and that it would be highly imprudent as well as ungrateful to forfeit these advantages, by making yourselves tools to the ambition of foreign princes, who fancy it expedient to raise disturbances among us at present, but, as soon as their own ends are served, will not fail to abandon you, as they have always done.

Is it not evident that your true interest consists in lying still, and waiting the event, since Ireland must necessarily follow the fate of England; and that therefore prudence and policy prescribe quiet to the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, who, in case a change of hands should not succeed after your attempting to bring it about, must then expect to be on a worse foot than ever?

But we will suppose it succeeds to your wish. What then? Would not this undermine even your own interests and fortune, which are often interwoven with those of your neighbours? Would not all those who have debts or money, or other effects in the hands of Protestants, be fellow sufferers with them? Would not all those who hold under the Acts of Settlement be as liable as Protestants themselves to be dispossessed by the old proprietors? Or, can even those who are styled proprietors flatter

themselves with hopes of possessing the estates which they claim, which, in all likelihood, would be given to favourites (perhaps to foreigners), who are near the person, or who fought the battles of their Master.

Under Protestant governments, those of your communion have formerly enjoyed a greater share of the lands of this kingdom, and more ample privileges. You bore your part in the magistracy and the legislature, and could complain of no hardships on the score of your religion. If these advantages have been since impaired or lost, was it not by the wrong measures yourselves took to enlarge them, in several successive attempts, each of which left you weaker and in a worse condition than you were before? And this notwithstanding the vaunted succours of France and Spain, whose vain efforts in conjunction with yours constantly recoiled on your own heads, even when your numbers and circumstances were far more considerable than they now are?

You all know these things to be true. I appeal to your own breasts. Dear-bought experience hath taught you, and past times instruct the present. But perhaps you follow conscience rather than interest. Will any men amongst you pretend to plead conscience against being quiet, or against paying allegiance and peaceable submission to a Protestant prince, which the first Christians paid even to heathen, and which those of your communion, at this day, pay to Mahometan and to idolatrous princes in Turkey and China, and which you yourselves have so often professed to pay to our present gracious Sovereign? Conscience is quite out of the case. And what man in his senses would engage in a dangerous course, to which neither interest doth invite, nor conscience oblige him?

I heartily wish that this advice may be as well taken as it is meant, and that you may maturely consider your true interest, rather than rashly repeat the same errors which you have so often repented of. So, recommending you to the merciful guidance of Almighty God, I subscribe myself,

Your real well-wisher,

GEORGE CLOYNE.

A WORD TO THE WISE

OR

AN EXHORTATION

TO THE

ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY OF IRELAND

BY A

MEMBER OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH

Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto

First published in 1749

NOTE

THE *Word to the Wise* was first published in 1749, at Dublin, 'printed by George Faulkner, in Essex Street.' It was appended to the editions of the *Querist* which appeared in the following year and in 1751. It is contained in the *Miscellany*. It was also published at Boston in 1750, in what is described as a fourth edition. This impassioned exhortation to the clergy of the Roman Church, to inculcate individual industry on the people of Ireland, is in the spirit of the *Essay towards preventing the Ruin of Great Britain*, written nearly thirty years earlier, and also of the *Querist*. Berkeley's generous recognition of the influence and social service of the Roman Church, and desire for co-operation, are characteristic: they were acknowledged by the clergy of that communion in the *Letter* appended to the *Exhortation*.

A WORD TO THE WISE

Be not startled, Reverend Sirs, to find yourselves addressed to by one of a different Communion. We are indeed (to our shame be it spoken) more inclined to hate for those articles wherein we differ, than to love one another for those wherein we agree. But, if we cannot extinguish, let us at least suspend our animosities, and, forgetting our religious feuds, consider ourselves in the amiable light of countrymen and neighbours. Let us for once turn our eyes on those things in which we have one common interest. Why should disputes about faith interrupt the duties of civil life? or the different roads we take to heaven prevent our taking the same steps on earth? Do we not inhabit the same spot of ground, breathe the same air, and live under the same government? Why, then, should we not conspire in one and the same design —to promote the common good of our country?

We are all agreed about the usefulness of meat, drink, and clothes, and, without doubt, we all sincerely wish our poor neighbours were better supplied with them. Providence and nature have done their part; no country is better qualified to furnish the necessaries of life, and yet no people are worse provided. In vain is the earth fertile, and the climate benign, if human labour be wanting. Nature supplies the materials, which art and industry improve to the use of man, and it is the want of this industry that occasions all our other wants.

The public hath endeavoured to excite and encourage this most useful virtue. Much hath been done; but whether it be from the heaviness of the climate, or from the Spanish or Scythian blood that runs in their veins, or whatever else may be the cause, there still remains in the natives of this island a remarkable antipathy to labour. You, gentlemen, can alone conquer their innate hereditary

sloth. Do you then, as you love your country, exert yourselves.

You are known to have great influence on the minds of your people; be so good as to use this influence for their benefit. Since other methods fail, try what *you* can do. 'Be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort' (2 Tim. iv. 2). Make them thoroughly sensible of the sin and folly of sloth. Shew your charity in clothing the naked and feeding the hungry, which you may do by the mere breath of your mouths. Give me leave to tell you that no set of men upon earth have it in their power to do good on easier terms, with more advantage to others, and less pains or loss to themselves. Your flocks are of all others most disposed to follow directions, and of all others want them most; and indeed what do they not want?

The house of an Irish peasant is the cave of poverty; within, you see a pot and a little straw; without, a heap of children tumbling on the dunghill. Their fields and gardens are a lively counterpart of Solomon's description in the Proverbs: 'I went (saith that wise king) by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding; and, lo, it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken down' (Prov. xxiv. 30, 31). In every road the ragged ensigns of poverty are displayed; you often meet caravans of poor, whole families in a drove, without clothes to cover, or bread to feed them, both which might be easily procured by moderate labour. They are encouraged in this vagabond life by the miserable hospitality they meet with in every cottage, whose inhabitants expect the same kind reception in their turn when they become beggars themselves; beggary being the last refuge of these improvident creatures.

If I seem to go out of my province, or to prescribe to those who must be supposed to know their own business, or to paint the lower inhabitants of this land in no very pleasing colours, you will candidly forgive a well-meant zeal, which obligeth me to say things rather useful than agreeable, and to lay open the sore in order to heal it.

But whatever is said must be so taken as not to reflect on persons of rank and education, who are no way inferior

to their neighbours; nor yet to include all even of the lowest sort, though it may well extend to the generality of those especially in the western and southern parts of the kingdom, where the British manners have less prevailed. We take our notions from what we see, mine are a faithful transcript from originals about me.

The Scythians were noted for wandering, and the Spaniards for sloth and pride; our Irish are behind neither of these nations from which they descend, in their respective characteristics. 'Better is he that laboureth and aboundeth in all things, than he that boasteth himself and wanteth bread,' saith the son of Sirach (x. 27); but so saith not the Irishman. In my own family a kitchen-wench refused to carry out cinders, because she was descended from an old Irish stock. Never was there a more monstrous conjunction than that of pride with beggary; and yet this prodigy is seen every day in almost every part of this kingdom. At the same time these proud people are more destitute than savages, and more abject than negroes. The negroes in our Plantations have a saying—'If negro was not negro, Irishman would be negro.' And it may be affirmed with truth that the very savages of America are better clad and better lodged than the Irish cottagers throughout the fine fertile countries of Limerick and Tipperary.

Having long observed and bewailed this wretched state of my countrymen, and the insufficiency of several methods set on foot to reclaim them, I have recourse to your Reverences as the *dernier ressort*. Make them to understand that you have their interest at heart, that you persuade them to work for their own sakes, and that God hath ordered matters so as that they who will not work for themselves must work for others. The terrors of debt, slavery, and famine should, one would think, drive the most slothful to labour. Make them sensible of these things, and that the ends of Providence and order of the world require industry in human creatures. 'Man goeth forth to his work and to his labour until the evening,' saith the Psalmist (Ps. civ. 23), when he is describing the beauty, order, and perfection of the works of God. But what saith the slothful person? 'Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding

of the hands to sleep' (Prov. vi. 10). But what saith the wise man? 'So shall thy poverty come as one that travelleth, and thy want as an armed man' (Prov. vi. 11).

All nature will furnish you with arguments and examples against sloth: 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard,' cries Solomon. The ant, the bee, the beetle, and every insect but the drone, read a lesson of industry to man. But the shortest and most effectual lesson is that of St. Paul: 'If any man will not work, neither should he eat' (2 Thess. iii. 10). This command was enjoined the Thessalonians, and equally respects all Christians, and indeed all mankind; it being evident by the light of nature that the whole creation works together for good, and that no part was designed to be useless. As therefore the idle man is of no use, it follows that he hath no right to a subsistence. 'Let them work (saith the apostle), and eat their own bread' (2 Thess. iii. 12); not bread got by begging, nor bread earned by the sweat of other men; but their own bread, that which is got by their own labour. 'Then shalt thou eat the labour of thine hands,' saith the Psalmist; to which he adds, 'Happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee' (Ps. cxxviii. 2), intimating that to work and enjoy the fruits thereof is a great blessing.

A slothful man's imagination is apt to dress up labour in a horrible mask; but, horrible as it is, idleness is more to be dreaded, and a life of poverty (its necessary consequence) is far more painful. It was the advice of Pythagoras, to choose the best kind of life; for that use would render it agreeable, reconciling men even to the roughest exercise. By practice, pains become at first easy, and in the progress pleasant; and this is so true, that whoever examines things will find there can be no such thing as happy life without labour, and that whoever doth not labour with his hands, must in his own defence, labour with his brains.

Certainly, planting and tilling the earth is an exercise not less pleasing than useful; it takes the peasant from his smoky cabin into the fresh air and open field, rendering his lot far more desirable than that of the sluggard, who lies in the straw, or sits whole days by the fire.

Convince your people that not only pleasure invites but necessity also drives them to labour. If you have any

compassion for these poor creatures, put them in mind how many of them perished in a late memorable distress[1], through want of that provident care against a hard season, observable not only in all other men, but even in irrational animals. Set before their eyes, in lively colours, their own indigent and sordid lives, compared with those of other people, whose industry hath procured them hearty food, warm clothes, and decent dwellings. Make them sensible what a reproach it is that a nation which makes so great pretensions to antiquity, and is said to have flourished many ages ago in arts and learning, should in these our days turn out a lazy, destitute, and degenerate race.

Raise your voices, Reverend Sirs, exert your influence, shew your authority over the multitude, by engaging them to the practice of an honest industry—a duty necessary to all, and required in all, whether Protestants, or Roman Catholics, whether Christians, Jews, or Pagans. Be so good, among other points, to find room for *this*, than which none is of more concern to the souls and bodies of your hearers, nor consequently deserves to be more amply or frequently insisted on.

Many and obvious are the motives that recommend this duty. Upon a subject so copious you can never be at a loss for something to say. And while, by these means, you rescue your countrymen from want and misery, you will have the satisfaction to behold your country itself improved. What pleasure must it give you, to see these waste and wild scenes, these naked ditches, and miserable hovels, exchanged for fine plantations, rich meadows, well-tilled fields, and neat dwellings; to see people well fed, and well clad, instead of famished, ragged scarecrows; and those very persons tilling the fields that used to beg in the streets.

Neither ought the difficulty of the enterprise to frighten you from attempting it. It must be confessed, a habit of industry is not at once introduced; neighbour, nevertheless, will emulate neighbour, and the contagion of good example will spread as surely as of bad, though perhaps

[1] He refers to the famine which followed the hard winter in 1740. Thousands perished of hunger and disease in that and the following year.

not so speedily. It may be hoped there are many that would be allured by a plentiful and decent manner of life to take pains, especially when they observe it to be attained by the industry of their neighbours, in no sort better qualified than themselves.

If the same gentle spirit of sloth did not soothe our squires as well as peasants, one would imagine there should be no idle hands among us. Alas! how many incentives to industry offer themselves in this island, crying aloud to the inhabitants for work? Roads to be repaired, rivers made navigable, fisheries on the coasts, mines to be wrought, plantations to be raised, manufactures improved, and, above all, lands to be tilled, and sowed with all sorts of grain.

When so many circumstances provoke and animate your people to labour; when their private wants, and the necessities of the public; when the laws, the magistrates, and the very country calls upon them; you cannot think it becomes you alone to be silent, or hindmost in every project for promoting the public good. Why should you, whose influence is greatest, be least active? Why should you, whose words are most likely to prevail, say least in the common cause?

Perhaps it will be said, the discouragements attending those of your communion [1] are a bar against all endeavours for exciting them to a laudable industry. Men are stirred up to labour by the prospect of bettering their fortunes, by getting estates, or employments; but those who are limited in the purchase of estates, and excluded from all civil employments, are deprived of those spurs to industry.

To this it may be answered, that, admitting these considerations do, in some measure, damp industry and ambition in persons of a certain rank, yet they can be no let to the industry of poor people, or supply an argument against endeavouring to procure meat, drink, and clothes. It is not proposed that you should persuade the better sort to acquire estates, or qualify themselves for becoming magistrates; but only that you should set the lowest of the people

[1] Note the reference here, and in what follows, to the civil disabilities of the Irish Roman Catholics, and to the Irish land question. Cf. *Querist*, Qu. 255.

at work, to provide themselves with necessaries, and supply the wants of nature.

It will be alleged in excuse of their idleness, that the country people want encouragement to labour, as not having a property in the lands. There is small encouragement, say you, for them to build or plant upon another's land, wherein they have only a temporary interest. To which I answer, that life itself is but temporary; that all tenures are not of the same kind; that the case of our English and the original Irish is equal in this respect; and that the true Aborigines, or natural Irish, are noted for want of industry in improving even on their own lands, whereof they have both possession and property.

How many industrious persons are there in all civilized countries, without any property in lands, or any prospect of estates, or employments! Industry never fails to reward her votaries. There is no one but can earn a little, and little added to little makes a heap. In this fertile and plentiful island, none can perish for want but the idle and improvident. None who have industry, frugality, and foresight but may get into tolerable, if not wealthy, circumstances.—Are not all trades and manufactures open to those of your Communion? Have you not the same free use, and may you not make the same advantage, of fairs and markets as other men? Do you pay higher duties, or are you liable to greater impositions, than your fellow-subjects? And are not the public premiums and encouragements given indifferently to artists of all Communions? Have not, in fact, those of your Communion a very great share of the commerce of this kingdom in their hands? And is not more to be got by this than by purchasing estates, or possessing civil employments, whose incomes are often attended with large expenses?

A tight house, warm apparel, and wholesome food, are sufficient motives to labour. If all had them, we should be a flourishing nation. And if those who take pains may have them, those who will not take pains are not to be pitied; they are to be looked on and treated as drones, the pest and disgrace of society.

It will be said, the hardness of the landlord cramps the industry of the tenant. But if rent be high, and the landlord rigorous, there is more need of industry in the tenant.

It is well known that in Holland taxes are much higher, and rent both of land and houses far dearer, than in Ireland. But this is no objection or impediment to the industry of the people, who are rather animated and spurred on to earn a livelihood by labour, that is not to be got without it.

You will say, it is an easy matter to make a plausible discourse on industry, and its advantages; but what can be expected for poor creatures, who are destitute of all conveniences for exerting their industry, who have nothing to improve upon, nothing to begin the world with? I answer, they have their four quarters, and five senses[1]. Is it nothing to possess the bodily organs sound and entire? That wonderful machine, the hand, was it formed to be idle?

Was there but will to work, there are not wanting in this island either opportunities or encouragements. Spinning alone might employ all idle hands (children as well as parents), being soon learned, easily performed, and never failing of a market, requiring neither wit nor strength, but suited to all ages and capacities. The public provides utensils, and persons for teaching the use of them; but the public cannot provide a heart and will to be industrious. These, I will not deny, may be found in several persons in some other parts of the kingdom, and wherever they are found, the comfortable effects shew themselves. But seldom, very seldom, are they found in these southern people, whose indolence figureth a lion in the way, and is proof against all encouragement.

But you will insist, how can a poor man, whose daily labour goes for the payment of his rent, be able to provide present necessaries for his family, much less to lay up a store for the future? It must be owned, a considerable share of the poor man's time and labour goes towards paying his rent. But how are his wife and children employed, or how doth he employ himself the rest of his time? The same work tires, but different works relieve. Where there is a true spirit of industry, there will never be wanting something to do, without doors or within, by candle-light if not by day-light. *Labor ipse voluptas*, saith the poet, and this is verified in fact.

[1] Cf. *Querist*, Qu. 4.

In England, when the labour of the field is over, it is usual for men to betake themselves to some other labour of a different kind. In the northern parts of that industrious land, the inhabitants meet, a jolly crew, at one another's houses, where they merrily and frugally pass the long and dark winter evenings; several families, by the same light and the same fire, working at their different manufactures of wool, flax, or hemp; company, meanwhile, mutually cheering and provoking to labour. In certain other parts you may see[1], on a summer's evening, the common labourers sitting along the streets of a town or village, each at his own door, with a cushion before him making bone-lace, and earning more in an evening's pastime than an Irish family would in a whole day. Those people, instead of closing the day with a game on greasy cards, or lying stretched before the fire, pass their time much more cheerfully in some useful employment, which custom hath rendered light and agreeable.

But admitting, for the various reasons above alleged, that it is impossible for our cottagers to be rich, yet it is certain they may be clean. Now, bring them to be cleanly, and your work is half done. A little washing, scrubbing, and rubbing, bestowed on their persons and houses, would introduce a sort of industry; and industry in any one kind is apt to beget it in another.

Indolence in dirt is a terrible symptom, which shews itself in our lower Irish more, perhaps, than in any people on this side the Cape of Good Hope. I will venture to add that look throughout the kingdom, and you shall not find a clean house inhabited by cleanly people, and yet wanting necessaries; the same spirit of industry that keeps folk clean, being sufficient to keep them also in food and raiment[2].

But, alas! our poor Irish are wedded to dirt upon principle. It is with some of them a maxim that the way to make children thrive is to keep them dirty. And I do verily believe that the familiarity with dirt, contracted and nourished from their infancy, is one great cause of that sloth which attends them in every stage of life. Were

[1] [e.g. Newport Pagnel in Buckinghamshire.]—Author.
[2] Cf. *Querist*, Qu. 60, 61.

children but brought up in an abhorrence of dirt, and obliged to keep themselves clean, they would have something to do, whereas they now do nothing.

It is past all doubt that those who are educated in a supine neglect of all things, either profitable or decent, must needs contract a sleepiness and indolence, which doth necessarily lead to poverty, and every other distress that attends it. 'Love not sleep (cries Solomon), lest thou come to poverty; open thine eyes, and thou shalt be satisfied with bread' (Prov. xx. 13). It is therefore greatly to be wished, that you would persuade parents to inure their children betimes to a habit of industry, as the surest way to shun the miseries that must otherwise befall them.

An early habit, whether of sloth or diligence, will not fail to shew itself throughout the whole course of a man's life. 'Train up a child (saith the wise man) in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it' (Prov. xxii. 6). The first tincture often leaves so deep a stain as no afterthought or endeavour can wash out. Hence sloth in some minds is proof against all arguments and examples whatsoever, all motives of interest and duty, all impressions even of cold and hunger. This habit, rooted in the child, grows up and adheres to the man, producing a general listlessness, and aversion from labour. This I take to be our great calamity.

For, admitting that some of our squires and landlords are vultures with iron bowels, and that their hardness and severity are a great discouragement to the tenant, who will naturally prefer want and ease before want and toil; it must at the same time be admitted that neither is the landlord, generally speaking, so hard, nor the climate so severe, nor the soil so ungrateful, as not to answer the husbandman's labour, where there is a spirit of industry; the want of which is the true cause of our national distress. Of this there are many evident proofs.

I have myself known a man, from the lowest condition of life, without friends or education, not knowing so much as to write or read, bred to no trade or calling, by pure dint of day-labour, frugality, and foresight, to have grown wealthy, even in this island, and under all the above-

mentioned disadvantages. And what is done by one, is possible to another.

In Holland[1] a child five years old is maintained by its own labour; in Ireland many children of twice that age do nothing but steal, or encumber the hearth and dunghill. This shameful neglect of education shews itself through the whole course of their lives, in a matchless sloth bred in the very bone, and not to be accounted for by any outward hardship or discouragement whatever. It is the native colour, if we may so speak, and complexion of the people. Dutch, English, French, or Flemish cannot match them.

Mark an Irishman at work in the field; if a coach or horseman go by, he is sure to suspend his labour, and stand staring until they are out of sight. A neighbour of mine made it his remark in a journey from London to Bristol, that all the labourers of whom he inquired the road constantly answered without looking up, or interrupting their work, except one who stood staring and leaning on his spade, and him he found to be an Irishman.

It is a shameful thing, and peculiar to this nation, to see lusty vagabonds strolling about the country, and begging without any pretence to beg. Ask them why they do not labour to earn their own livelihood, they will tell you, They want employment; offer to employ them, and they shall refuse your offer; or, if you get them to work one day, you may be sure not to see them the next. I have known them decline even the lightest labour, that of haymaking, having at the same time neither clothes for their backs, nor food for their bellies.

A sore leg is an estate to such a fellow; and this may be easily got, and continued with small trouble. Such is their laziness, that rather than work they will cherish a distemper. This I know to be true, having seen more than one instance wherein the second nature so far prevailed over the first, that sloth was preferred to health. To these beggars, who make much of their sores, and prolong their diseases, you cannot do a more thankless office than cure them, except it be to shave their beards, which conciliate a sort of reverence to that order of men.

[1] Cf. *Querist*, Qu. 373.

It is indeed a difficult task to reclaim such fellows from their slothful and brutal manner of life, to which they seem wedded with an attachment that no temporal motives can conquer; nor is there, humanly speaking, any hopes they will amend, except their respect for your lessons and fear of something beyond the grave be able to work a change in them.

Certainly, if I may advise, you should, in return for the lenity and indulgence of the government, endeavour to make yourselves useful to the public; and this will best be performed, by rousing your poor countrymen from their beloved sloth. I shall not now dispute the truth or importance of other points, but will venture to say, that you may still find time to inculcate this doctrine of an *honest industry*; and that this would by no means be time thrown away, if promoting your country's interest, and rescuing so many unhappy wretches of your Communion from beggary or the gallows, be thought worthy of your pains.

It should seem you cannot in your sermons do better than inveigh against idleness, that extensive parent of many miseries and many sins; idleness, the mother of hunger and sister of theft: 'idleness,' which, the Son of Sirach assures us, 'teacheth many vices.'

The same doctrine is often preached from the gallows. And indeed the poverty, nakedness, and famine which idleness entaileth on her votaries, do make men so wretched, that they may well think it better to die than to live such lives. Hence a courage for all villainous undertakings, which, bringing men to a shameful death, do then open their eyes when they are going to be closed for ever.

If you have any regard (as it is not to be doubted) either for the souls or bodies of your people, or even for your own interest and credit, you cannot fail to inveigh against this crying sin of your country. Seeing you are obnoxious to the laws, should you not in prudence try to reconcile yourselves to the favour of the public; and can you do this more effectually, than by co-operating with the public spirit of the legislature, and men in power?

Were this but done heartily, would you but 'be instant in season, and out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort'

(2 Tim. iv. 2), such is the ascendant you have gained over the people that we might soon expect to see the good effects thereof. We might hope 'that our garners would be soon full, affording all manner of store; that our sheep would bring forth thousands; that our oxen would be strong to labour, that there would be no breaking in, nor going out (no robbery, nor migration for bread), and that there would be no complaining in our streets' (Ps. cxliv. 13).

It stands upon you to act with vigour in this cause, and shake off the shackles of sloth from your countrymen, the rather, because there be some who surmise that yourselves have put them on. Right or wrong, men will be apt to judge of your doctrines by their fruits. It will reflect small honour on their teachers, if, instead of honesty and industry, those of your Communion are peculiarly distinguished by the contrary qualities, or if the nation converted by the great and glorious St. Patrick should, above all other nations, be stigmatized and marked out as good for nothing.

I can never suppose you so much your own enemies as to be friends to this odious sloth. But, were this once abolished, and a laudable industry introduced in its stead, it may perhaps be asked, who are to be gainers? I answer, your Reverences are like to be great gainers; for every penny you now gain you will gain a shilling: you would gain also in your credit: and your lives would be more comfortable.

You need not be told how hard it is to rake from rags and penury a tolerable subsistence; or how offensive to perform the duties of your function amidst stench and nastiness; or how much things would change for the better, in proportion to the industry and wealth of your flocks. Duty as well as interest calls upon you to clothe the naked, and feed the hungry, by persuading them to 'eat (in the apostle's phrase) their own bread'; or, as the Psalmist expresseth it, 'the labour of their own hands.' By inspiring your flocks with a love of industry, you will at once strike at the root of many vices, and dispose them to practise many virtues. This therefore is the readiest way to improve them.

Consult your superiors. They shall tell you the doctrine here delivered is a sound Catholic doctrine, not limited

to Protestants, but extending to all, and admitted by all, whether Protestants or Roman Catholics, Christians or Mahometans, Jews or Gentiles. And as it is of the greatest extent, so it is also of the highest importance. St. Paul expressly saith that 'if any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel' (1 Tim. v. 8).

In vain, then, do you endeavour to make men orthodox in points of faith, if, at the same time, in the eyes of Christ and His apostles, you suffer them to be worse than infidels, than those who have no faith at all. There is something it seems worse than even infidelity; and to incite and stimulate you to put away that cursed thing from among you is the design and aim of this Address. The doctrine we recommend is an evident branch of the Law of Nature; it was taught by prophets, inculcated by apostles, encouraged and enforced by philosophers, legislators, and all wise states, in all ages and in all parts of the world. Let me therefore entreat you to exert yourselves, 'to be instant in season, and out of season, rebuke, reprove, exhort.' Take all opportunities to drive the lion out of the way; raise your voices, omit no occasion, public or private, of awakening your wretched countrymen from their sweet dream of sloth.

Many suspect your religion to be the cause of that notorious idleness which prevails so generally among the natives of this island, as if the Roman Catholic faith were inconsistent with an honest diligence in a man's calling. But whoever considers the great spirit of industry that reigns in Flanders and France, and even beyond the Alps, must acknowledge this to be a groundless suspicion. In Piedmont and Genoa, in the Milanese and the Venetian state, and indeed throughout all Lombardy, how well is the soil cultivated, and what manufactures of silk, velvet, paper, and other commodities, flourish? The king of Sardinia will suffer no idle hands in his territories, no beggar to live by the sweat of another's brow; it has even been made penal at Turin to relieve a strolling beggar. To which I might add that the person whose authority will be of the greatest weight with you, even the Pope himself, is at this day endeavouring to put new life into the trade and manufactures of his country.

Though I am in no secret of the Court of Rome, yet I will venture to affirm, that neither Pope, nor cardinals, will be pleased to hear that those of their Communion are distinguished, above all others, by sloth, dirt, and beggary; or be displeased at your endeavouring to rescue them from the reproach of such an infamous distinction.

The case is as clear as the sun; what we urge is enforced by every motive that can work on a reasonable mind. The good of your country, your own private interest, the duty of your function, the cries and distresses of the poor, do with one voice call for your assistance. And, if it is on all hands allowed to be right and just, if agreeable both to reason and religion, if coincident with the views both of your temporal and spiritual superiors, it is to be hoped this Address may find a favourable reception, and that a zeal for disputed points will not hinder your concurring to propagate so plain and useful a doctrine, wherein we are all agreed.

When a leak is to be stopped, or a fire extinguished, do not all hands co-operate without distinction of sect or party? Or if I am fallen into a ditch, shall I not suffer a man to help me out, until I have first examined his creed? Or when I am sick, shall I refuse the physic, because my physician doth or doth not believe the pope's supremacy?

Fas est et ab hoste doceri. But, in truth, I am no enemy to your persons, whatever I may think of your tenets. On the contrary, I am your sincere well-wisher. I consider you as my countrymen, as fellow-subjects, as professing belief in the same Christ. And I do most sincerely wish, there was no other contest between us but—who shall most completely practise the precepts of Him by whose name we are called, and whose disciples we all profess to be.

Soon after the preceding Address was published, the Printer hereof received the following *Letter from the Roman Catholic Clergy of the Diocese of Dublin*[1], desiring it to be inserted in the *Dublin Journal* of November 18, 1749:—

[1] This *Letter*, published in the *Dublin Journal* in November, 1749, is appended to the *Word to the Wise*, in the edition published in Berkeley's *Miscellany*, in 1752.

'You will very much oblige many of your constant readers, if you acquaint the public that the Address you lately published, entitled, *A Word to the Wise; or An Exhortation to the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland*, was received by the Roman Catholic clergy of Dublin with the highest sense of gratitude; and they take the liberty, in this public manner, to return their sincere and hearty thanks to the worthy Author, assuring him that they are determined to comply with every particular recommended in it, to the utmost of their power. In every page it contains a proof of the author's extensive charity. His views are only towards the public good. The means he prescribeth are easily complied with, and his manner of treating persons in their circumstances so very singular that they plainly shew the good man, the polite gentleman, and the true patriot. All this hath so great an effect upon them, that they have already directed circular Letters to the parish priests of this Diocese, recommending, in the most earnest manner, the perusal and zealous execution of what is contained in the said Address; and it is hoped that by publishing this in your Journal, the Roman Catholic clergy of other parts of this Kingdom will be induced to follow their example, which must promote the laudable views of that great and good man. At the same time, he may be assured that the Roman Catholic clergy of this city have frequently taken considerable pains to recommend to their respective flocks, industry, and a due application to their respective trades and callings, as an indispensable duty, and the means of avoiding the many vices and bad consequences which generally attend criminal poverty and want. But the more effectually to prevent these evils, and remove all excuses for sloth and idleness, they have, several months ago, pursuant to the example of many bishoprics in Lombardy, Spain, Naples, &c., taken the steps most proper and expedient, in their opinion, to lessen considerably the number of Holidays in this Kingdom; and they make no doubt but their expectations will, in a short time, be fully answered, to the great advantage of the public.'

'We are, &c.'

MAXIMS

CONCERNING

PATRIOTISM

First published in 1750

NOTE

These *Maxims* were first published in 1750, in Dublin, and two years after in the *Miscellany*. Berkeley was a patriot—not a *Pat-riot*, as we are told he used to style his 'bawling' countrymen. Curiously the title-page in the first edition bears the words—'By a Lady'; yet the tract is included in his *Miscellany* with this indication of authorship omitted, and the *Maxims* carry internal evidence of Berkeley. Can the 'Lady' have been his wife—some of her table-talk preserved by her husband; or of his preserved by her, and acknowledged by him in this characteristic manner?

MAXIMS CONCERNING PATRIOTISM

1. Every man, by consulting his own heart, may easily know whether he is or is not a patriot. But it is not so easy for the by-standers.

2. Being loud and vehement either against a court, or for a court, is no proof of patriotism.

3. A man whose passion for money runs high bids fair for being no patriot. And he likewise whose appetite is keen for power.

4. A native than a foreigner, a married man than a bachelor, a believer than an infidel, has a better chance for being a patriot.

5. It is impossible an epicure should be a patriot.

6. It is impossible a man who cheats at cards, or cogs the dice, should be a patriot.

7. It is impossible a man who is false to his friends and neighbours should be true to the public.

8. Every knave is a thorough knave. And a thorough knave is a knave throughout.

9. A man who hath no sense of God or conscience: would you make such a one guardian to your child? If not, why guardian to the state?

10. A sot, a beast, benumbed and stupefied by excess, is good for nothing, much less to make a patriot of.

11. A fop or man of pleasure makes but a scurvy patriot.

12. A sullen, churlish man, who loves nobody, will hardly love his country.

13. The love of praise and esteem may do something: but to make a true patriot there must be an inward sense of duty and conscience.

14. Honesty (like other things) grows from its proper seed, good principles early laid in the mind.

15. To be a real patriot, a man must consider his countrymen as God's creatures, and himself as accountable for his acting towards them.

16. If *pro aris et focis* be the life of patriotism, he who hath no religion or no home makes a suspected[1] patriot.

[17. No man perjures himself for the sake of conscience.

18. There is an easy way of reconciling malecontents.—*Sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem*, &c.

19. A good groom will rather stroke than strike.

20. He who saith there is no such thing as an honest man, you may be sure is himself a knave[2].]

21. I have no opinion of your bumper patriots. Some eat, some drink, some quarrel, for their country. MODERN PATRIOTISM!

22. Ibycus is a carking, griping, closefisted fellow. It is odds that Ibycus is not a patriot.

23. We are not to think every clamorous haranguer, or every splenetic repiner against a court, is therefore a patriot.

24. A patriot is one who heartily wisheth the public prosperity, and doth not only wish, but also study and endeavour to promote it.

25. Gamesters, fops, rakes, bullies, stockjobbers: alas! what patriots!

26. Some writers have thought it impossible that men should be brought to laugh at public spirit. Yet this hath been done in the present age[3].

27. The patriot aims at his private good in the public. The knave makes the public subservient to his private interest. The former considers himself as part of a whole, the latter considers himself as the whole.

28. There is and ever will be a natural strife between court and country. The one will get as much, and the other give as little as it can. How must the patriot behave himself?

29. He gives the necessary. If he gives more, it is with a view of gaining more to his country.

30. A patriot will never barter the public money for his private gain.

[1] 'suspected'—'bad,' in first edition.

[2] Maxims 17, 18, 19, were added in the second edition.

[3] 'present age'—'present merry age,' in first edition.

31. Moral evil is never to be committed; physical evil may be incurred, either to avoid a greater evil, or to procure a good.

32. Where the heart is right, there is true patriotism.

33. In your man of business, it is easier to meet with a good head than a good heart.

34. A patriot will admit there may be honest men, and that honest men may differ.

35. He that always blames, or always praises is no patriot.

36. Were all sweet and sneaking courtiers, or were all sour malecontents[1]; in either case the public would thrive but ill.

37. A patriot would hardly wish there was no contrast in the state.

38. Ferments of the worst kind succeed to perfect inaction.

39. A man rages, rails, and raves; I suspect his patriotism.

40. The fawning courtier and the surly squire often mean the same thing, each his own interest.

41. A patriot will esteem no man for being of his party.

42. The factious man is apt to mistake himself for a patriot.

[1] 'Sour malecontents'—'snarling sour malecontents,' in first edition.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

THE FIRST EDITION OF THE 'QUERIST'

As already mentioned, the First Edition of the *Querist* appeared at Dublin in three successive Parts, in 1735 and the two following years[1]. Through the kindness of Mr. Macsweeny, I am able to present in this Appendix the numerous Queries (numbered as in the original) which were omitted in the later editions of the *Querist*.

The original edition contains 894 Queries, arranged in Three Parts.

[1] See 'Advertisement by the Author,' and Editor's Preface to the *Querist*; also pp. 247–50 of the *Life and Letters* of Berkeley.

The following notice appeared in a Bristol Catalogue of books for sale:—'Autograph MS. The *Commonplace Book* of the GREAT BISHOP BERKELEY, in a thick volume folio, nearly 400 pages, vellum covers. Written throughout in a column one-half the width of the page, the blank remainder, in many parts, being occupied by later remarks, also in his handwriting. One part is occupied by 323 Queries—the original collection for *The Querist: containing several Queries proposed to the consideration of the Public. Part III.*'

It is to be regretted that soon after this announcement was made the MS. was accidentally destroyed by fire, as I was informed when I inquired for it.

THE QUERIST

FIRST PART. [PUBLISHED IN 1735.]

29. Whether, nevertheless, the damage would be very considerable, if by degrees our money were brought back to the English value there to rest for ever?

30. Whether the English crown did not formerly pass with us for six shillings? And what inconvenience ensued to the public upon its reduction to the present value, and whether what hath been may not be?

52. Whether it be not a bull to call that making an interest, whereby a man spendeth much and gaineth nothing?

55. Whether cunning be not one thing and good sense another? and whether a cunning tradesman doth not stand in his own light?

62. Whether, consequently, the fine gentlemen, whose employment is only to dress, drink, and play, be not a public nuisance?

73. Whether those specimens of our own manufacture, hung up in a certain public place, do not sufficiently declare such our ignorance? and whether for the honour of the nation they ought not to be removed?

201. Whether any nation ever was in greater want of such an expedient than Ireland?

209. Whether the public may not as well save the interest which it now pays?

210. What would happen if two of our banks should break at once? And whether it be wise to neglect providing against an event which experience hath shewn us not to be impossible?

211. Whether such an accident would not particularly affect the bankers? And therefore whether a national bank would not be a security even to private bankers?

212. Whether we may not easily avoid the inconveniences attending the paper-money of New England, which were incurred by their issuing too great a quantity of

notes, by their having no silver in bank to exchange for notes, by their not insisting upon repayment of the loans at the time prefixed, and especially by their want of manufactures to answer their imports from Europe?

213. Whether a combination of bankers might not do wonders, and whether bankers know their own strength?

214. Whether a bank in private hands might not even overturn a government? and whether this was not the case of the Bank of St. George in Genoa?

215. Whether we may not easily prevent the ill effects of such a bank as Mr. Law proposed for Scotland, which was faulty in not limiting the quantum of bills, and permitting all persons to take out what bills they pleased, upon the mortgage of lands, whence by a glut of paper, the prices of things must rise? Whence also the fortunes of men must increase in denomination, though not in value; whence pride, idleness, and beggary?

216. Whether such banks as those of England and Scotland might not be attended with great inconveniences, as lodging too much power in the hands of private men, and giving handle for monopolies, stockjobbing, and destructive schemes?

217. Whether the national bank, projected by an anonymous writer in the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, might not on the other hand be attended with as great inconvenience by lodging too much power in the Government?

218. Whether the bank projected by Murray, though it partake, in many useful particulars, with that of Amsterdam, yet, as it placeth too great power in the hands of a private society, might not be dangerous to the public?

221. Whether those effects could have happened had there been no stockjobbing? And whether stockjobbing could at first have been set on foot, without an imaginary foundation of some improvement to the stock by trade? Whether, therefore, when there are no such prospects, or cheats, or private schemes proposed, the same effects can be justly feared?

222. Whether by a national bank, be not properly understood a bank, not only established by public authority as the Bank of England, but a bank in the hands

of the public, wherein there are no shares: whereof the public alone is proprietor, and reaps all the benefit?

223. Whether, having considered the conveniences of banking and paper-credit in some countries, and the inconveniences thereof in others, we may not contrive to adopt the former, and avoid the latter?

224. Whether great evils, to which other schemes are liable, may not be prevented, by excluding the managers of the bank from a share in the legislature?

226. Whether the bank proposed to be established in Ireland, under the notion of a national bank, by the voluntary subscription of three hundred thousand pounds, to pay off the national debt, the interest of which sum to be paid the subscribers, subject to certain terms of redemption, be not in reality a private bank, as those of England and Scotland, which are national only in name, being in the hands of particular persons, and making dividends on the money paid in by subscribers?

228. Whether it is not worth while to reflect on the expedients made use of by other nations, paper-money, bank-notes, public funds, and credit in all its shapes, to examine what hath been done and devised to add to our own animadversions, and upon the whole offer such hints as seem not unworthy the attention of the public?

230. Whether it may not be expedient to appoint certain funds or stock for a national bank, under direction of certain persons, one-third whereof to be named by the Government, and one-third by each House of Parliament?

231. Whether the directors should not be excluded from sitting in either House, and whether they should not be subject to the audit and visitation of a standing committee of both Houses?

232. Whether such committee of inspectors should not be changed every two years, one-half going out, and another coming in by ballot?

233. Whether the notes ought not to be issued in lots, to be let at interest on mortgaged lands, the whole number of lots to be divided among the four provinces, rateably to the number of hearths in each?

234. Whether it may not be expedient to appoint four counting-houses, one in each province, for converting notes into specie?

235. Whether a limit should not be fixed, which no person might exceed, in taking out notes?

236. Whether, the better to answer domestic circulation, it may not be right to issue notes as low as twenty shillings?

237. Whether all the bills should be issued at once, or rather by degrees, that so men may be gradually accustomed and reconciled to the bank?

238. Whether the keeping of the cash, and the direction of the bank, ought not to be in different hands, and both under public control?

239. Whether the same rule should not alway be observed, of lending out money or notes, only to half the value of the mortgaged land? and whether this value should alway be rated at the same number of years' purchase as at first?

240. Whether care should not be taken to prevent an undue rise of the value of land?

241. Whether the increase of industry and people will not of course raise the value of land? And whether this rise may not be sufficient?

242. Whether land may not be apt to rise on the issuing too great plenty of notes?

243. Whether this may not be prevented by the gradual and slow issuing of notes, and by frequent sales of lands?

244. Whether interest doth not measure the true value of land; for instance, where money is at five per cent., whether land is not worth twenty years' purchase?

245. Whether too small a proportion of money would not hurt the landed man, and too great a proportion the monied man? And whether the quantum of notes ought not to bear proportion to the public demand? And whether trial must not shew what this demand will be?

246. Whether the exceeding this measure might not produce divers bad effects, one whereof would be the loss of our silver?

247. Whether interest paid into the bank ought not to go on augmenting its stock?

248. Whether it would or would not be right to appoint that the said interest be paid in notes only?

249. Whether the notes of this national bank should not be received in all payments into the exchequer?

250. Whether on supposition that the specie should fail, the credit would not, nevertheless, still pass, being admitted in all payments of the public revenue?

251. Whether the public can become bankrupt so long as the notes are issued on good security?

252. Whether mismanagement, prodigal living, hazards by trade, which often affect private banks, are equally to be apprehended in a public one?

253. Whether as credit became current, and this raised the value of land, the security must not of course rise?

255. Whether by degrees, as business and people multiplied, more bills may not be issued, without augmenting the capital stock, provided still, that they are issued on good security; which further issuing of new bills, not to be without consent of Parliament?

256. Whether such bank would not be secure? Whether the profits accruing to the public would not be very considerable? And whether industry in private persons would not be supplied, and a general circulation encouraged?

257. Whether such bank should, or should not, be allowed to issue notes for money deposited therein? And, if not, whether the bankers would have cause to complain?

258. Whether, if the public thrives, all particular persons must not feel the benefit thereof, even the bankers themselves?

259. Whether, beside the bank company, there are not in England many private wealthy bankers, and whether they were more before the erecting of that company?

261. Whether we have not paper-money circulating among us already; whether, therefore, we might not as well have that which is secured by the public, and whereof the public reaps the benefit?

262. Whether there are not two general ways of circulating money, to wit, play and traffic? and whether stock-jobbing is not to be ranked under the former?

263. Whether there are more than two things that might draw silver out of the bank, when its credit was once well established, to wit, foreign demands and small payments at home?

264. Whether, if our trade with France were checked, the former of these causes could be supposed to operate

at all? and whether the latter could operate to any great degree?

267. Whether paper-money or notes may not be issued from the national bank, on the security of hemp, of linen, or other manufactures whereby the poor might be supported in their industry?

273. Whether banks raised by private subscription would be as advantageous to the public as to the subscribers? and whether risks and frauds might not be more justly apprehended from them?

276. Whether an argument from the abuse of things, against the use of them, be conclusive?

277. Whether he who is bred to a part be fitted to judge of the whole?

278. Whether interest be not apt to bias judgment? and whether traders only are to be consulted about trade, or bankers about money?

280. Whether any man hath a right to judge, that will not be at the pains to distinguish?

281. Whether there be not a wide difference between the profits going to augment the national stock, and being divided among private sharers? And whether, in the former case, there can possibly be any gaming or stock-jobbing?

289. Whether, therefore, it doth not greatly concern the State, that our Irish natives should be converted, and the whole nation united in the same religion, the same allegiance, and the same interest? and how this may most probably be effected?

291. Whether there have not been Popish recusants? and, if so, whether it would be right to object against the foregoing oath, that all would take it, and none think themselves bound by it?

292. Whether those of the Church of Rome, in converting the Moors of Spain or the Protestants of France, have not set us an example which might justify a similar treatment of themselves, if the laws of Christianity allowed thereof?

293. Whether compelling men to a profession of faith is not the worst thing in Popery; and, consequently, whether to copy after the Church of Rome therein, were not to become Papists ourselves in the worst sense?

294. Whether, nevertheless, we may not imitate the Church of Rome, in certain places, where Jews are tolerated, by obliging our Irish Papists, at stated times, to hear Protestant sermons? and whether this would not make missionaries in the Irish tongue useful?

295. Whether the mere act of hearing, without making any profession of faith, or joining in any part of worship, be a religious act; and, consequently, whether their being obliged to hear, may not consist with the toleration of Roman Catholics?

296. Whether, if penal laws should be thought oppressive, we may not at least be allowed to give premiums? And whether it would be wrong, if the public encouraged Popish families to become hearers, by paying their hearth-money for them?

297. Whether in granting toleration, we ought not to distinguish between doctrines purely religious, and such as affect the State?

298. Whether the case be not very different in regard to a man who only eats fish on Fridays, says his prayers in Latin, or believes transubstantiation, and one who professeth in temporals a subjection to foreign powers, who holdeth himself absolved from all obedience to his natural prince and the laws of his country? who is even persuaded, it may be meritorious to destroy the powers that are?

299. Whether, therefore, a distinction should not be made between mere Papists and recusants? And whether the latter can expect the same protection from the Government as the former?

300. Whether our Papists in this kingdom can complain, if they are allowed to be as much Papists as the subjects of France or of the Empire?

303. Whether every plea of conscience is to be regarded? Whether, for instance, the German Anabaptists, levellers, or fifth monarchy men would be tolerated on that pretence?

304. Whether Popish children bred in charity schools, when bound out in apprenticeship to Protestant masters, do generally continue Protestants?

306. Whether if the parents are overlooked, there can be any great hopes of success in converting the children?

312. Whether there be any nation of men governed by reason? And yet, if there was not, whether this would be a good argument against the use of reason in public affairs?

315. Whether one, whose end is to make his countrymen think, may not gain his end, even though they should not think as he doth?

316. Whether he, who only asks, asserts? and whether any man can fairly confute the querist?

317. Whether the interest of a part will not always be preferred to that of the whole?

SECOND PART. [PUBLISHED IN 1736.]

5. Whether it can be reasonably hoped, that our state will mend, so long as property is insecure among us?

6. Whether in that case the wisest government, or the best laws can avail us?

7. Whether a few mishaps to particular persons may not throw this nation into the utmost confusion?

8. Whether the public is not even on the brink of being undone by private accidents?

11. Whether therefore it be not high time to open our eyes?

24. Whether private ends are not prosecuted with more attention and vigour than the public? and yet, whether all private ends are not included in the public?

25. Whether banking be not absolutely necessary to the public weal?

26. Whether even our private banks, though attended with such hazards as we all know them to be, are not of singular use in defect of a national bank?

28. Whether the mystery of banking did not derive its original from the Italians? Whether this acute people were not, upon a time, bankers all over Europe? Whether that business was not practised by some of their noblest families who made immense profits by it, and whether to

that the house of Medici did not originally owe its greatness?

30. Whether at Venice all payments of bills of exchange and merchants' contracts are not made in the national or public bank, the greatest affairs being transacted only by writing the names of the parties, one as debtor the other as creditor in the bank-book?

31. Whether nevertheless it was not found expedient to provide a chest of ready cash for answering all demands that should happen to be made on account of payments in detail?

32. Whether this offer of ready cash, instead of transfers in the bank, hath not been found to augment rather than diminish the stock thereof?

33. Whether at Venice, the difference in the value of bank-money above other money be not fixed at twenty per cent.?

34. Whether the bank of Venice be not shut up four times in the year twenty days each time?

35. Whether by means of this bank the public be not mistress of a million and a half sterling?

37. Whether we may not hope for as much skill and honesty in a Protestant Irish Parliament as in a Popish Senate of Venice?

39. Whether besides coined money, there be not also great quantities of ingots or bars of gold and silver lodged in this bank?

41. Whether it be not true, that the bank of Amsterdam never makes payments in cash?

42. Whether, nevertheless, it be not also true, that no man who hath credit in the bank can want money from particular persons, who are willing to become creditors in his stead?

43. Whether any man thinks himself the poorer, because his money is in the bank?

44. Whether the creditors of the bank of Amsterdam are not at liberty to withdraw their money when they please, and whether this liberty doth not make them less desirous to use it?

45. Whether this bank be not shut up twice in the year for ten or fifteen days, during which time the accounts are balanced?

53. Whether we are by nature a more stupid people than the Dutch? And yet whether these things are sufficiently considered by our patriots?

54. Whether anything less than the utter subversion of those republics can break the banks of Venice and Amsterdam?

55. Whether at Hamburgh the citizens have not the management of the bank, without the meddling or inspection of the Senate?

56. Whether the directors be not four principal burghers chosen by plurality of voices, whose business is to see the rules observed, and furnish the cashiers with money?

57. Whether the book-keepers are not obliged to balance their accounts every week, and exhibit them to the controllers or directors?

58. Whether any besides the citizens are admitted to have compte en banc at Hamburgh?

59. Whether there be not a certain limit, under which no sum can be entered into the bank?

60. Whether each particular person doth not pay a fee in order to be admitted to a compte en banc at Hamburgh and Amsterdam?

61. Whether the effects lodged in the bank at Hamburgh are liable to be seized for debt or forfeiture?

62. Whether this bank doth not lend money upon pawns at low interest and only for half a year, after which term, in default of payment, the pawns are punctually sold by auction?

63. Whether the book-keepers of the bank of Hamburgh are not obliged upon oath never to reveal what sums of money are paid in or out of the bank, or what effects any particular person has therein?

64. Whether, therefore, it be possible to know the state or stock of this bank; and yet whether it be not of the greatest reputation and most established credit throughout the North?

66. Whether an absolute monarchy be so apt to gain credit, and whether the vivacity of some humours could so well suit with the slow steps and discreet management which a bank requires?

67. Whether the bank called the general bank of France,

contrived by Mr. Law, and established by letters patent in May, 1716, was not in truth a particular and not a national bank, being in the hands of a particular company privileged and protected by the Government?

68. Whether the Government did not order that the notes of this bank should pass on a par with ready money in all payments of the revenue?

69. Whether this bank was not obliged to issue only such notes as were payable at sight?

70. Whether it was not made a capital crime to forge the notes of this bank?

71. Whether this bank was not restrained from trading either by sea or land, and from taking up money upon interest?

72. Whether the original stock thereof was not six millions of livres, divided into actions of a thousand crowns each?

73. Whether the proprietors were not to hold general assemblies twice a year, for the regulating their affairs?

74. Whether the accompts of this bank were not balanced twice every year?

75. Whether there were not two chests belonging to this bank, the one called the general chest containing their specie, their bills and their copper plates for the printing of those bills, under the custody of three locks, whereof the keys were kept by the director, the inspector and treasurer; also another called the ordinary chest, containing part of the stock not exceeding two hundred thousand crowns, under the key of the treasurer?

76. Whether out of this last mentioned sum, each particular cashier was not to be entrusted with a share not exceeding the value of twenty thousand crowns at a time, and that under good security?

77. Whether the regent did not reserve to himself the power of calling this bank to account, so often as he should think good, and of appointing the inspector?

78. Whether in the beginning of the year 1719 the French King did not convert the general bank of France into a Banque Royale, having himself purchased the stock of the company and taken it into his own hands, and appointed the Duke of Orleans chief manager thereof?

79. Whether from that time, all matters relating to the

bank were not transacted in the name, and by the sole authority, of the king?

80. Whether his majesty did not undertake to receive and keep the cash of all particular persons, subjects, or foreigners, in his said Royale Banque, without being paid for that trouble? And whether it was not declared, that such cash should not be liable to seizure on any pretext, not even on the king's own account?

81. Whether the treasurer alone did not sign all the bills, receive all the stock paid into the bank, and keep account of all the in-goings and out-goings?

82. Whether there were not three registers for the enregistering of the bills kept in the Banque Royale, one by the inspector, and the other by the controller, and a third by the treasurer?

83. Whether there was not also a fourth register, containing the profits of the bank, which was visited, at least once a week, by the inspector and controller?

84. Whether, beside the general bureau or compter in the city of Paris, there were not also appointed five more in the towns of Lyons, Tours, Rochelle, Orleans, and Amiens, each whereof was provided with two chests, one of specie for discharging bills at sight, and another of bank bills to be issued as there should be demand?

85. Whether, in the above mentioned towns, it was not prohibited to make payments in silver, exceeding the sum of six hundred livres?

86. Whether all creditors were not empowered to demand payment in bank bills instead of specie?

87. Whether, in a short compass of time, this bank did not undergo many new changes and regulations by several successive acts of council?

88. Whether the untimely, repeated, and boundless fabrication of bills did not precipitate in the ruin of this bank?

89. Whether it be not true, that before the end of July, 1719, they had fabricated four hundred millions of livres in bank-notes, to which they added the sum of one hundred and twenty millions more on the twelfth of September following, also the same sum of one hundred and twenty millions on the twenty-fourth of October, and again on the twenty-ninth of December, in the same year, the farther

sum of three hundred and sixty millions, making the whole, from an original stock of six millions, mount, within the compass of one year, to a thousand millions of livres?

90. Whether on the twenty-eighth of February, 1720, the king did not make an union of the bank with the united company of East and West Indies, which from that time had the administration and profits of the Banque Royale?

91. Whether the king did not still profess himself responsible for the value of the bank bills, and whether the company were not responsible to his majesty for their management?

92. Whether sixteen hundred millions of livres, lent to his majesty by the company, was not a sufficient pledge to indemnify the king?

93. Whether the new directors were not prohibited to make any more bills without an act of council?

94. Whether the chests and books of the Banque were not subjected to the joint inspection of a counsellor of state, and the Prevôt des Marchands, assisted by two Echevins, a judge, and a consul, who had power to visit when they would and without warning?

95. Whether in less than two years the actions or shares of the Indian Company (first established for Mississippi, and afterwards increased by the addition of other companies and further privileges) did not rise to near 2000 per cent.? and whether this must be ascribed to real advantages of trade, or to mere frenzy?

96. Whether, from first to last, there were not fabricated bank bills, of one kind or other, to the value of more than two thousand and six hundred millions of livres, or one hundred and thirty millions sterling?

97. Whether the credit of the bank did not decline from its union with the Indian Company?

98. Whether, notwithstanding all the above-mentioned extraordinary measures, the bank bills did not still pass at par with gold and silver to May, 1720, when the French king thought fit, by a new act of council, to make a reduction of their value, which proved a fatal blow, the effects whereof, though soon retracted, no subsequent skill or management could ever repair?

99. Whether, what no reason, reflexion, or foresight could do, this simple matter of fact (the most powerful

argument with the multitude) did not do at once, to wit, open the eyes of the people?

100. Whether the dealers in that sort of ware had ever troubled their heads with the nature of credit, or the true use and end of banks, but only considered their bills and actions as things, to which the general demand gave a price?

101. Whether the Government was not in great perplexity to contrive expedients for the getting rid of those bank bills, which had been lately multiplied with such an unlimited passion?

102. Whether notes to the value of about ninety millions were not sunk by being paid off in specie, with the cash of the Compagnie des Indes with that of the bank, and that of the Hotels des Monnoyes? Whether five hundred and thirty millions were not converted into annuities at the royal treasury? Whether several hundred millions more in bank bills were not extinguished and replaced by annuities on the City of Paris on taxes throughout the provinces, &c., &c.

103. Whether, after all other shifts, the last and grand resource for exhausting that ocean, was not the erecting of a compte en banc in several towns of France?

104. Whether, when the imagination of a people is thoroughly wrought upon and heated by their own example, and the arts of designing men, this doth not produce a sort of enthusiasm which takes place of reason, and is the most dangerous distemper in a state?

105. Whether this epidemical madness should not be always before the eyes of a legislature, in the framing of a national bank?

106. Whether, therefore, it may not be fatal to engraft trade on a national bank, or to propose dividends on the stock thereof?

108. Whether it may not be as useful a lesson to consider the bad management of some as the good management of others?

109. Whether the rapid and surprising success of the schemes of those who directed the French bank did not turn their brains?

110. Whether the best institutions may not be made subservient to bad ends?

111. Whether, as the aim of industry is power, and the aim of a bank is to circulate and secure this power to each individual, it doth not follow that absolute power in one hand is inconsistent with a lasting and a flourishing bank?

115. Whether the mistaking of the means for the end was not a fundamental error in the French councils?

123. Whether there should not be a constant care to keep the bills at par?

124. Whether, therefore, bank bills should at any time be multiplied but as trade and business were also multiplied?

125. Whether it was not madness in France to mint bills and actions, merely to humour the people and rob them of their cash?

126. Whether we may not profit by their mistakes, and as some things are to be avoided, whether there may not be others worthy of imitation in the conduct of our neighbours?

127. Whether the way be not clear and open and easy, and whether anything but the will is wanting to our legislature?

128. Whether jobs and tricks are not detested on all hands, but whether it be not the joint interest of prince and people to promote industry?

129. Whether, all things considered, a national bank be not the most practicable, sure, and speedy method to mend our affairs, and cause industry to flourish among us?

130. Whether a compte en banc or current bank bills would best answer our occasions?

131. Whether a public compte en banc, where effects are received, and accounts kept with particular persons, be not an excellent expedient for a great city?

132. What effect a general compte en banc would have in the metropolis of this kingdom with one in each province subordinate thereunto?

133. Whether it may not be proper for a great kingdom to unite both expedients, to wit, bank notes and a compte en banc?

134. Whether, nevertheless, it would be advisable to begin with both at once, or rather to proceed first with the bills, and afterwards, as business multiplied, and money or effects flowed in, to open the compte en banc?

135. Whether, for greater security, double books of compte en banc should not be kept in different places and hands?

136. Whether it would not be right to build the compters and public treasuries, where books and bank notes are kept, without wood, all arched and floored with brick or stone, having chests also and cabinets of iron?

137. Whether divers registers of the bank notes should not be kept in different hands?

138. Whether there should not be great discretion in the uttering of bank notes, and whether the attempting to do things *per saltum* be not often the way to undo them?

139. Whether the main art be not by slow degrees and cautious measures to reconcile the bank to the public, to wind it insensibly into the affections of men, and interweave it with the constitution?

141. Whether a national bank may not prevent the drawing of specie out of the country (where it circulates in small payments), to be shut up in the chests of particular persons?

143. Whether tenants or debtors could have cause to complain of our monies being reduced to the English value if it were withal multiplied in the same, or in a greater proportion? and whether this would not be the consequence of a national bank?

144. If there be an open sure way to thrive, without hazard to ourselves or prejudice to our neighbours, what should hinder us from putting in practice?

145. Whether in so numerous a Senate, as that of this kingdom, it may not be easier to find men of pure hands and clear heads fit to contrive and model a public bank?

146. Whether a view of the precipices be not sufficient, or whether we must tumble headlong before we are roused?

147. Whether in this drooping and dispirited country, men are quite awake?

156. Whether, if we do not reap the benefits that may be made of our country and government, want of will in the lower people, or want of wit in the upper, be most in fault?

165. Whether an assembly of freethinkers, *petit maitres*, and smart fellows, would not make an admirable Senate?

175. Whether there be really among us any persons so silly, as to encourage drinking in their children?

176. Whence it is, that our ladies are more alive, and bear age so much better than our gentlemen?

185. Whether this be altogether their own fault?

197. Whether it may not be right to appoint censors in every parish to observe and make returns of the idle hands?

198. Whether a register or history of the idleness and industry of a people would be an useless thing?

199. Whether we are apprized, of all the uses that may be made of political arithmetic?

207. Why the workhouse in Dublin, with so good an endowment, should yet be of so little use? and whether this may not be owing to that very endowment?

208. Whether that income might not, by this time, have gone through the whole kingdom, and erected a dozen workhouses in every county?

210. Whether the tax on chairs or hackney coaches be not paid, rather by the country gentlemen, than the citizens of Dublin?

227. Whether there should not be a difference between the treatment of criminals and that of other slaves?

251. Whether when a motion was once upon a time to establish a private bank in this kingdom by public authority, divers gentlemen did not shew themselves forward to embark in that design?

252. Whether it may not now be hoped that our patriots will be as forward to examine and consider the proposal of a public bank calculated only for the public good?

253. Whether any people upon earth shew a more early zeal for the service of their country, greater eagerness to bear a part in the Legislature, or a more general parturiency with respect to politics and public counsels?

254. Whether, nevertheless, a light and ludicrous vein be not the reigning humour; but whether there was ever greater cause to be serious?

THIRD PART. [PUBLISHED IN 1737.]

13. Whether the whole city of Amsterdam would not have been troubled to have brought together twenty thousand pounds in one room?

14. Whether it be not absolutely necessary that there must be a bank and must be a trust? And, if so, whether it be not the most safe and prudent course to have a national bank and trust the legislature?

15. Whether objections against trust in general avail, when it is allowed there must be a trust, and the only question is where to place this trust, whether in the legislature or in private hands?

16. Whether it can be expected that private persons should have more regard to the public than the public itself?

17. Whether, if there be hazards from mismanagement, those may not be provided against in the framing of a public bank; but whether any provision can be made against the mismanagement of private banks that are under no check, control, or inspection?

18. Whatever may be said for the sake of objecting, yet, whether it be not false in fact, that men would prefer a private security to a public security?

19. Whether a national bank ought to be considered as a new experiment; and whether it be not a motive to try this scheme that it hath been already tried with success in other countries?

20. If power followeth money, whether this can be anywhere more properly and securely placed, than in the same hands wherein the supreme power is already placed?

21. Whether there be more danger of abuse in a private than in a public management?

22. Whether the proper usual remedy for abuses of private banks be not to bring them before Parliament, and subject them to the inspection of a committee; and whether it be not more prudent to prevent than to redress an evil?

24. Whether experience and example be not the plainest

proof; and whether any instance can be assigned where a national bank hath not been attended with great advantage to the public?

25. Whether the evils apprehended from a national bank are not much more to be apprehended from private banks; but whether men by custom are not familiarised and reconciled to common dangers, which are therefore thought less than they really are?

26. Whether it would not be very hard to suppose all sense, honesty, and public spirit were in the keeping of only a few private men, and the public was not fit to be trusted?

27. Whether it be not ridiculous to suppose a legislature should be afraid to trust itself?

28. But, whether a private interest be not generally supported and pursued with more zeal than a public?

30. Whether, nevertheless, the community of danger, which lulls private men asleep, ought not to awaken the public?

31. Whether there be not less security where there are more temptations and fewer checks?

32. If a man is to risk his fortune, whether it be more prudent to risk it on the credit of private men, or in that of the great assembly of the nation?

33. Where is it most reasonable to expect wise and punctual dealing, whether in a secret impenetrable recess, where credit depends on secrecy, or in a public management regulated and inspected by Parliament?

34. Whether a supine security be not catching, and whether numbers running the same risk, as they lessen the caution, may not increase the danger?

35. What real objection lies against a national bank erected by the legislature, and in the management of public deputies, appointed and inspected by the legislature?

36. What have we to fear from such a bank, which may not be as well feared without it?

37. How, why, by what means, or for what end, should it become an instrument of oppression?

38. Whether we can possibly be on a more precarious foot than we are already? Whether it be not in the power of any particular person at once to disappear and convey himself into foreign parts? or whether there can

be any security in an estate of land when the demands upon it are unknown?

39. Whether the establishing of a national bank, if we suppose a concurrence of the government, be not very practicable?

40. But, whether though a scheme be never so evidently practicable and useful to the public, yet, if conceived to interfere with a private interest, it be not forthwith in danger of appearing doubtful, difficult, and impracticable?

41. Whether the legislative body hath not already sufficient power to hurt, if they may be supposed capable of it, and whether a bank would give them any new power?

42. What should tempt the public to defraud itself?

43. Whether, if the legislature destroyed the public, it would not be *felo de se*; and whether it be not reasonable to suppose it bent on its own destruction?

44. Whether the objection to a public national bank, from want of secrecy, be not in truth an argument for it?

45. Whether the secrecy of private banks be not the very thing that renders them so hazardous? and whether, without, that there could have been of late so many sufferers?

46. Whether when all objections are answered it be still incumbent to answer surmises?

47. Whether it were just to insinuate that gentlemen would be against any proposal they could not turn into a job?

48. Suppose the legislature passed their word for any private banker, and regularly visited his books, would not money lodged in his bank be therefore reckoned more secure?

49. In a country where the legislative body is not fit to be trusted, what security can there be for trusting any one else?

50. If it be not ridiculous to question whether the public can find cash to circulate bills of a limited value when private bankers are supposed to find enough to circulate them to an unlimited value?

53. Whether those hazards that in a greater degree attend private banks can be admitted as objections against a public one?

54. Whether that which is an objection to everything

be an objection to anything; and whether the possibility of an abuse be not of that kind?

55. Whether, in fact, all things are not more or less abused, and yet notwithstanding such abuse, whether many things are not upon the whole expedient and useful?

56. Whether those things that are subject to the most general inspection are not the less subject to abuse?

57. Whether, for private ends, it may not be sometimes expedient to object novelty to things that have been often tried, difficulty to the plainest things, and hazard to the safest?

58. Whether some men will not be apt to argue as if the question was between money and credit, and not (as in fact it is) which ought to be preferred, private credit or public credit?

59. Whether they will not prudently overlook the evils felt, or to be feared, on one side?

60. Whether, therefore, those that would make an impartial judgment ought not to be on their guard, keeping both prospects always in view, balancing the inconveniences on each side and considering neither absolutely?

61. Whether wilful mistakes, examples without a likeness, and general addresses to the passions are not often more successful than arguments?

62. Whether there be not an art to puzzle plain cases as well as to explain obscure ones?

63. Whether private men are not often an over-match for the public; want of weight being made up for by activity?

64. If we suppose neither sense nor honesty in our leaders or representatives, whether we are not already undone, and so have nothing further to fear?

65. Suppose a power in the government to hurt the public by means of a national bank, yet what should give them the will to do this? Or supposing a will to do mischief, yet how could a national bank, modelled and administered by Parliament, put it in their power?

66. Whether even a wicked will entrusted with power can be supposed to abuse it for no end?

67. Whether it be not much more probable that those who maketh such objections do not believe them?

68. Whether it be not vain to object that our fellow

subjects of Great Britain would malign or obstruct our industry when it is exerted in a way which cannot interfere with their own ?

69. Whether it is to be supposed they should take delight in the dirt and nakedness and famine of our people, or envy them shoes for their feet and beef for their bellies ?

70. What possible handle or inclination could our having a national bank give other people to distress us ?

71. Whether it be not ridiculous to conceive that a project for clothing and feeding our natives should give any umbrage to England ?

72. Whether such unworthy surmises are not the pure effect of spleen ?

78. Whether the Protestant colony in this kingdom can ever forget what they owe to England ?

79. Whether there ever was in any part of the world a country in such wretched circumstances, and which, at the same time, could be so easily remedied, and nevertheless the remedy not applied ?

80. What must become of a people that can neither see the plainest things nor do the easiest ?

81. Be the money lodged in the bank what it will, yet whether an Act to make good deficiencies would not remove all scruples ?

82. If it be objected that a national bank must lower interest, and therefore hurt the monied man, whether the same objection would not hold as strong against multiplying our gold and silver ?

83. But whether a bank that utters bills, with the sole view of promoting the public weal, may not so proportion their quantity as to avoid several inconveniences which might attend private banks ?

85. Whether anything be more reasonable than that the public, which makes the whole profit of the bank, should engage to make good its credit ?

88. Whether, in order to make men see and feel, it be not often necessary to inculcate the same thing, and place it in different lights ?

90. Whether the managers and officers of a national bank ought to be considered otherwise than as the cashiers and clerks of private banks ? whether they are not in effect

as little trusted, have as little power, are as much limited by rules, and as liable to inspection?

91. Whether the mistaking this point may not create some prejudice against a national bank, as if it depended on the credit, or wisdom, or honesty, of private men, rather than on the public, which is really the sole proprietor and director thereof, and as such obliged to support it?

93. Whether a national bank would not be the great means and motive for employing our poor in manufactures?

94. Whether money, though lent out only to the rich, would not soon circulate among the poor? And whether any man borrows but with an intent to circulate?

95. Whether both government and people would not in the event be gainers by a national bank? And whether anything but wrong conceptions of its nature can make those that wish well to either averse from it?

96. Whether it may not be right to think, and to have it thought, that England and Ireland, prince and people, have one and the same interest?

97. Whether, if we had more means to set on foot such manufactures and such commerce as consists with the interest of England, there would not of course be less sheep-walks and less wool exported to foreign countries? And whether a national bank would not supply such means?

102. Whether business in general doth not languish among us? Whether our land is not untilled? Whether its inhabitants are not upon the wing?

104. Whether our circumstances do not call aloud for some present remedy? And whether that remedy be not in our power?

106. Whether, of all the helps to industry that ever were invented, there be any more secure, more easy, and more effectual than a national bank?

107. Whether medicines do not recommend themselves by experience, even though their reasons be obscure? But whether reason and fact are not equally clear in favour of this political medicine?

117. Whether therefore a tax on all gold and silver in apparel, on all foreign laces and silks, may not raise a fund

for the bank, and at the same time have other salutary effects on the public?

118. But, if gentlemen had rather tax themselves in another way, whether an additional tax of ten shillings the hogshead on wines may not supply a sufficient fund for the national bank, all defects to be made good by Parliament?

119. Whether upon the whole it may not be right to appoint a national bank?

120. Whether the stock and security of such bank would not be, in truth, the national stock, or the total sum of the wealth of this kingdom?

121. Whether, nevertheless, there should not be a particular fund for present use in answering bills and circulating credit?

122. Whether for this end any fund may not suffice, provided an Act be passed for making good deficiencies?

123. Whether the sole proprietor of such bank should not be the public, and the sole director the legislature?

124. Whether the managers, officers, and cashiers should not be servants of the public, acting by orders and limited by rules of the legislature?

125. Whether there should not be a standing number of inspectors, one-third men in great office, the rest members of both houses, half whereof to go out, and half to come in every session?

126. Whether those inspectors should not, all in a body, visit twice a year, and three as often as they pleased?

127. Whether the general bank should not be in Dublin, and subordinate banks or compters one in each province of Munster, Ulster, and Connaught?

128. Whether there should not be such provisions of stamps, signatures, checks, strong boxes and all other measures for securing the bank notes and cash, as are usual in other banks?

129. Whether these ten or a dozen last queries may not easily be converted into heads of a bill?

130. Whether any one concerns himself about the security or funds of the bank of Venice or Amsterdam? And whether in a little time the case would not be the same as to our bank?

133. Whether it be not the most obvious remedy for

all the inconveniences we labour under with regard to our coin?

134. Whether it be not agreed on all hands that our coin is on very bad foot, and calls for some present remedy?

135. Whether the want of silver hath not introduced a sort of traffic for change, which is purchased at no inconsiderable discount to the great obstruction of our domestic commerce?

136. Whether, though it be evident silver is wanted, it be yet so evident which is the best way of providing for this want? Whether by lowering the gold, or raising the silver, or partly one, partly the other?

137. Whether a partial raising of one species be not, in truth, granting a premium to our bankers for importing such species? And what that species is which deserves most to be encouraged?

138. Whether it be not just that all gold should be alike rated according to its weight and fineness?

139. Whether this may be best done by lowering some certain species of gold, or by raising others, or by joining both methods together?

141. Whether the North and the South have not, in truth, one and the same interest in this matter?

143. But, whether a public benefit ought to be obtained by unjust methods, and therefore, whether any reduction of coin should be thought of which may hurt the properties of private men?

144. Whether those parts of the kingdom where commerce doth most abound would not be the greatest gainers by having our coin placed on a right foot?

145. Whether, in case a reduction of coin be thought expedient, the uttering of bank bills at the same time may not prevent the inconveniences of such a reduction?

146. But, whether any public expediency could countervail a real pressure on those who are least able to bear it, tenants and debtors?

147. Whether, nevertheless, the political body, as well as the natural, must not sometimes be worse in order to be better?

150. What if our other gold were raised to a par with Portugal gold, and the value of silver in general raised with regard to that of gold?

151. Whether the public ends may or may not be better answered by such argumentation, than by a reduction of our coin?

152. Provided silver is multiplied, be it by raising or diminishing the value of our coin, whether the great end is not answered?

154. Whether, if a reduction be thought necessary, the obvious means to prevent all hardships and injustice be not a national bank?

155. Upon supposition that the cash of this kingdom was five hundred thousand pounds, and by lowering the various species each one-fifth of its value the whole sum was reduced to four hundred thousand pounds, whether the difficulty of getting money, and consequently of paying rents, would not be increased in the proportion of five to four?

156. Whether such difficulty would not be a great and unmerited distress on all the tenants in the nation? But if at the same time with the aforesaid reduction there were uttered one hundred thousand pounds additional to the former current stock, whether such difficulty or inconvenience would then be felt?

158. Whether in any foreign market, twopence advance in a kilderkin of corn could greatly affect our trade?

159. Whether in regard of the far greater changes and fluctuations of price from the difference of seasons and other accidents, that small rise should seem considerable?

162. Whether, setting aside the assistance of a national bank, it will be easy to reduce or lower our coin without some hardship (at least for the present) on a great number of particular persons?

163. Whether, nevertheless, the scheme of a national bank doth not entirely stand clear of this question; and whether such bank may not completely subsist and answer its ends, although there should be no alteration at all made in the value of our coin?

164. Whether, if the ill state of our coin be not redressed, that scheme would not be still more necessary, inasmuch as a national bank, by putting new life and vigour into our commerce, may prevent our feeling the ill effects of the want of such redress?

165. Whether men united by interest are not often

divided by opinion; and whether such difference in opinion be not an effect of misapprehension?

166. Whether two things are not manifest, first, that some alteration in the value of our coin is highly expedient, secondly, that whatever alteration is made, the tenderest care should be had of the properties of the people, and even a regard paid to their prejudices?

167. Whether our taking the coin of another nation for more than it is worth be not, in reality and in event, a cheat upon ourselves?

168. Whether a particular coin over-rated will not be sure to flow in upon us from other countries beside that where it is coined?

169. Whether, in case the wisdom of the nation shall think fit to alter our coin, without erecting a national bank, the rule for lessening or avoiding present inconvenience should not be so to order matters, by raising the silver and depressing the gold, as that the total sum of coined cash within the kingdom shall, in denomination, remain the same, or amount to the same nominal value, after the change it did before?

170. Whether all inconvenience ought not to be lessened as much as may be; but after, whether it would be prudent, for the sake of a small inconvenience, to obstruct a much greater good? And whether it may not sometimes happen that an inconvenience which in fancy and general discourse seems great shall, when accurately inspected and cast up, appear inconsiderable?

171. Whether in public councils the sum of things, here and there, present and future, ought not to be regarded?

176. Money being a ticket which entitles to power and records the title, whether such power avails otherwise than as it is exerted into act?

180. Whether beside that value of money which is rated by weight, there be not also another value consisting in its aptness to circulate?

204. Whether there be any woollen manufacture in Birmingham?

205. Whether bad management may not be worse than slavery? And whether any part of Christendom be in a more languishing condition than this kingdom?

212. Whether it be not true, that within the compass of

one year there flowed from the South Sea, when that commerce was open, into the single town of St. Malo's, a sum of gold and silver equal to four times the whole specie of this kingdom? And whether that same part of France doth not at present draw from Cadiz upwards of two hundred thousand pounds per annum?

214. Whether it be true that the Dutch make ten millions of livres, every return of the flota and galleons, by their sales at the Indies and at Cadiz?

215. Whether it be true that England makes at least one hundred thousand pounds per annum by the single article of hats sold in Spain?

217. Whether the toys of Thiers do not employ five thousand families?

218. Whether there be not a small town or two in France which supply all Spain with cards?

222. Whether, about twenty-five years ago, they did not first attempt to make porcelain in France; and whether, in a few years, they did not make it so well, as to rival that which comes from China?

226. Whether part of the profits of the bank should not be employed in erecting manufactures of several kinds, which are not likely to be set on foot and carried on to perfection without great stock, public encouragement, general regulations, and the concurrence of many hands?

230. Whether it were not to be wished that our people shewed their descent from Spain, rather by their honour and honesty than their pride, and if so, whether they might not easily insinuate themselves into a larger share of the Spanish trade?

235. Whether we may not, with common industry and common honesty, undersell any nation in Europe?

242. Whether they are not the Swiss that make hay and gather in the harvest throughout Alsatia?

269. Whether commissioners of trade or other proper persons should not be appointed to draw up plans of our commerce both foreign and domestic, and lay them at the beginning of every session before the Parliament?

270. Whether registers of industry should not be kept, and the public from time to time acquainted what new manufactures are introduced, what increase or decrease of old ones?

286. Whether therefore Mississippi, South Sea, and such like schemes were not calculated for public ruin?

289. Whether all such princes and statesmen are not greatly deceived who imagine that gold and silver, any way got, will enrich a country?

292. Whether the effect is not to be considered more than the kind or quantity of money?

299. Whether those who have the interests of this kingdom at heart, and are concerned in the councils thereof, ought not to make the most humble and earnest representations to his Majesty, that he may vouchsafe to grant us that favour, the want of which is ruinous to our domestic industry, and the having of which would interfere with no interest of our fellow subjects?

301. Whether his most gracious Majesty hath ever been addressed on this head in a proper manner, and had the case fairly stated for his royal consideration, and if not, whether we may not blame ourselves?

302. If his Majesty would be pleased to grant us a mint, whether the consequences thereof may not prove a valuable consideration to the crown.

311. Whether every kind of employment or business, as it implies more skill and exercise of the higher powers, be not more valued?

316. Whether private endeavours without assistance from the public are likely to advance our manufactures and commerce to any great degree? But whether, as bills uttered from a national bank upon private mortgages would facilitate the purchases and projects of private men, even so the same bills uttered on the public security alone may not answer public ends in promoting new works and manufactures throughout the kingdom?

323. Whether as many as wish well to their country ought not to aim at increasing its momentum[1]?

[1] The following letter, from Berkeley to Prior, announces the publication of the Third Part of the *Querist*, and also presents a picture of rural industry at Cloyne, in harmony with its suggestions:—

'*Cloyne, March* 5, 1736-7.

'DEAR TOM,

'I HERE send you what you desire. If you approve of it, publish it in one or more of our newspapers; if you have any objection, let me know it by the next post. I mean, as you see, a brief abstract; which I could wish were spread through the nation, that men may think on the subject against next session.

'But I would not have this letter made public sooner than a week after the publication of the Third Part of my *Querist*, which I have ordered to be sent to you. I believe you may receive it about the time that this comes to your hands; for, as I told you in a late letter, I have hastened it as much as possible. I have used the same editor (Dr. Madden) for this as for the foregoing two Parts.

'I must desire you to purchase for me six copies of the Third Part of the *Querist*, which I would have stitched in six pamphlets; so that each pamphlet shall contain the First, Second, and Third Parts of the *Querist*. I would have these pamphlets covered with marble paper pasted on white paper, and the leaves cut and gilt on the edges; and you will let me know when they are done—the sooner the better.

'Our spinning-school is in a thriving way. The children begin to find a pleasure in being paid in hard money; which I understand they will not give to their parents, but keep to buy clothes for themselves. Indeed I found it difficult and tedious to bring them to this; but I believe it will now do. I am building a workhouse for sturdy vagrants, and design to raise about two acres of hemp for employing them. Can you put me in a way of getting hemp-seed; or does your Society distribute any? It is hoped your flax-seed will come in time.'

The 'letter' which was 'not to be made public sooner than a week after the publication of the Third Part of the *Querist*,' and which appeared in the *Dublin Journal*, is as follows:—

'Sir,

'You tell me gentlemen would not be averse from a national bank, provided they saw a sketch or plan of such bank laid down and proposed in a distinct manner. For my own part, I intended only to put queries, and offer hints, not presuming to direct the wisdom of the public. Besides, it seemed no hard matter, if any one should think fit, to convert queries into propositions. However, since you desire a brief and distinct abstract of my thoughts on this subject, be pleased to take it as follows.

'I conceive that, in order to erect a national bank, and place it on a right foot, it may be expedient to enact—1. That an additional tax of ten shillings the hogshead be laid on wine, which may amount to about ten thousand pounds a-year; or to raise a like sum on foreign silks, linens, and laces. 2. That the fund arising from such tax be the stock for a national bank; the deficiencies whereof to be made good by parliament. 3. That bank-notes be minted to the value of one hundred thousand pounds in round numbers, from one pound to a hundred. 4. That these notes be issued either to particular persons on ready money or on mortgage, or to the uses of the public on its own credit. 5. That a house and cashiers, &c., be appointed in Dublin for uttering and answering these bills, and for managing this bank as other banks are managed. 6. That there be twenty-one inspectors, one-third whereof to be persons in great office under the crown, the rest members of both houses, ten whereof to go out by lot, and as many more to come in once in two years. 7. That such inspectors shall, in a body, visit the bank twice every year, and any three of them as often as they please. 8. That no bills or notes be minted but by order of parliament. 9. That it be felony to counterfeit the notes of this bank. 10. That the public be

alone banker, or sole proprietor of this bank.

'The reasons for a national bank, and the answers to objections are contained in the *Querist*; wherein there are also several other points relating to a bank of this nature, which in time may come to be considered. But at present thus much may suffice for a general plan to try the experiment and begin with; which plan, after a year or two of trial, may be further improved, altered, or enlarged, as the circumstances of the public shall require.

'Every one sees the scheme of a bank admits of many variations in minute particulars; several of which are hinted in the *Querist*, and several more may easily be suggested by any one who shall think on that subject. But it should seem the difficulty doth not consist so much in contriving or executing a national bank, as in bringing men to a right sense of the public weal, and of the tendency of such bank to promote the same.

'I have treated these points, and endeavoured to urge them home, both from reason and example, particularly in the Third Part of the *Querist* lately published; which, with the two former, contain many hints, designed to put men upon thinking what is to be done in this critical juncture of our affairs; which I believe may be easily retrieved and put on a better foot than ever, if those among us who are most concerned be not wanting to themselves. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

THE QUERIST.

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[1] The Index has been prepared by Mr. T. M. Forsyth, Graduate in Arts of the University of Edinburgh.

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